

AM 1929 W  
H. O. Walline



Boston University  
College of Liberal Arts  
Library

THE GIFT OF the Author

upstairs  
378.744  
BO  
A.M. 1923

w  
cl.

BOSTON UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE SCHOOL

Thesis

THE REFORMATION IN SWEDEN AND ITS CULMINATION  
UNDER GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS

Submitted by

Helga Ottilie Waline

(S.B., Boston University, College of Liberal  
Arts, 1929)

In partial fulfillment of requirements for  
the degree of Master of Arts

1929

*no page 109*



Ser.

THE UNITED STATES

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

WASHINGTON, D. C.

40947

RECEIVED

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

WASHINGTON, D. C.

RECEIVED

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON



378.744

BO

A.M. 1929

w

c.1

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTION .....	1
CHAPTER I - THE SWEDEN WHICH GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS HAD BEHIND HIM IN HIS REMARKABLE CAREER .....	4
Section I - Early Sweden under pagan kings .....	5
Section II- Sweden under Christian kings .....	9
Section III-Civil liberation and the introduction of the Prot- estant Church under Gus- tavus Vasa .....	16
Section IV- Condition of Church and State from Gustavus Vasa to Gustavus Adolphus .....	21
CHAPTER II - THE SWEDEN THAT GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS SERVED AND DEFENDED..	31
Section I - Gustavus Adolphus .....	32
Section II -War with Denmark .....	38
Section III-War with Russia .....	42
Section IV -War with Poland .....	46
Section V - Gustavus a Reformer .....	50
Section VI -Axel Oxenstierna .....	55



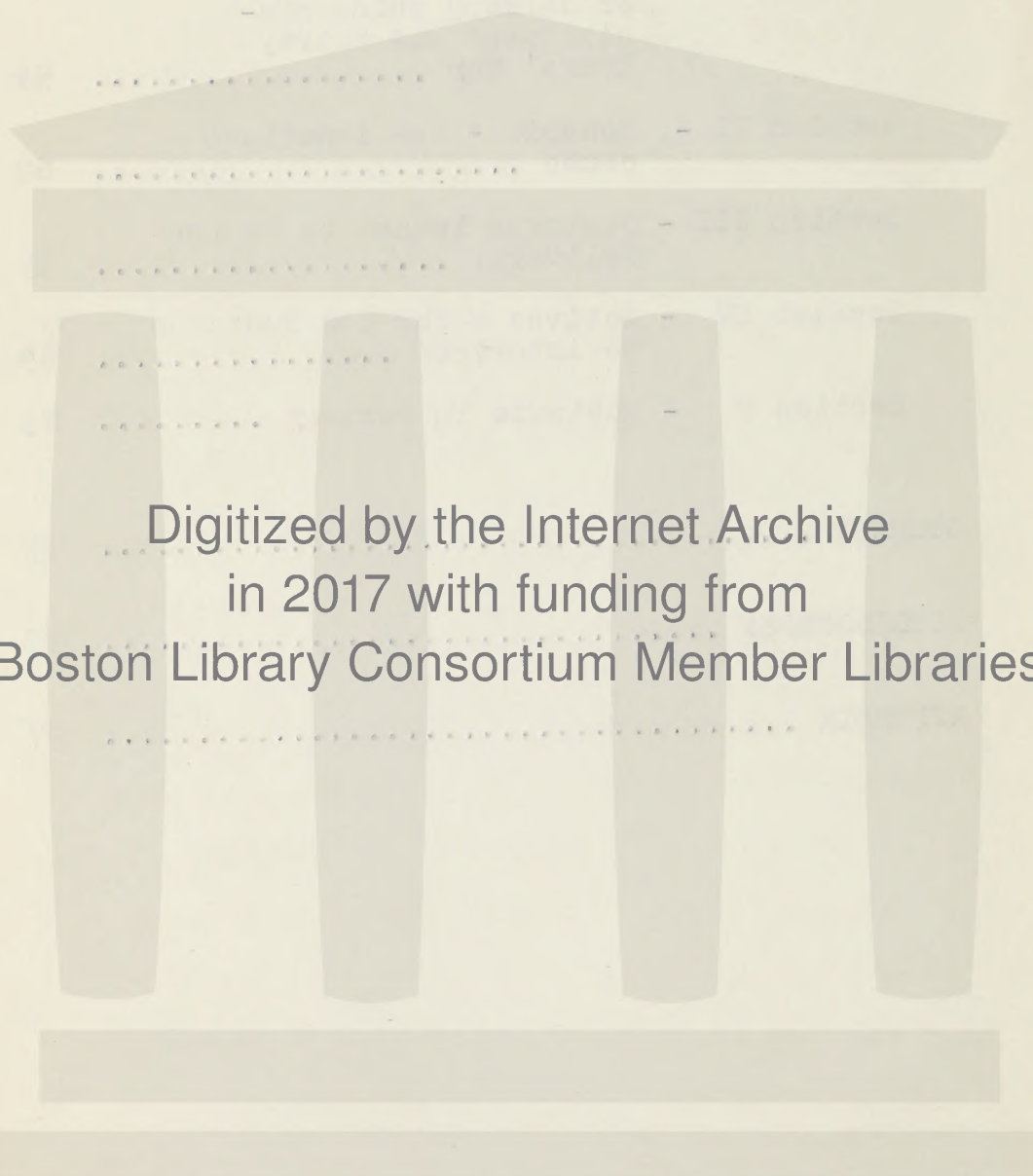
TABLE OF CONTENTS

1	.....	Section I - Introduction
2	.....	Section II - General Principles
3	.....	Section III - Specific Principles
4	.....	Section IV - Application of Principles
5	.....	Section V - Summary
6	.....	Section VI - Conclusions
7	.....	Section VII - Recommendations
8	.....	Section VIII - Bibliography
9	.....	Section IX - Index
10	.....	Section X - Appendix



	Page
CHAPTER III - THE PART THAT SWEDEN AND GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS PLAYED IN THAT GREAT STRUGGLE KNOWN AS THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR .....	58
Section I - Political construction of Germany which pre- cipitated the Thirty Years' War .....	59
Section II - Bohemia - the immediate cause .....	62
Section III - Gustavus looked to as the deliverer .....	65
Section IV - Motives which led Gustavus to intervene .....	69
Section V - Gustavus in Germany .....	75
SUMMARY .....	89
BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	93
APPENDIX .....	97





Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2017 with funding from  
Boston Library Consortium Member Libraries

<https://archive.org/details/thereformationin00wali>



## INTRODUCTION

When we consider the progress of civil and religious freedom to its present condition, our attention is drawn to the fact that it is not a result of the events of any single period, nor of a quiet and peaceful increase. The best interests of mankind have developed through numerous and violent derangements of social life--derangements often attended with the most terrible events and calamitous effects during the time of their immediate operation, but finally over-ruled to the wider and more lasting extension of good.

Amidst such recorded events the celebrated Thirty Years War of Germany is invested with the highest degree of interest, not only from the obstinacy and intensity of the struggle, but as exhibiting in an intelligible form the conflict of principles which have since been so modified in civilized countries as to have become obscure. It was one of those epochs in which the preceding age culminates, and from which is deduced the policy and institutions of the following age. It was a period in which the spirit of nationalism was predominant, and it is of special interest to us, inasmuch as from it proceed those principles of national and international politics and those phases of religion



# INTRODUCTION

When we consider the progress of civilization and religious freedom in its present condition, our attention is drawn to the fact that it is not a result of the events of any single period, but of a long and gradual process. The best interests of mankind have developed through numerous and violent social conflicts of social life--struggles often attended with the most terrible events and calamitous effects during the time of their immediate operation, but finally resulting in the wider and more lasting extension of good.

During each period events are complicated and the progress of humanity is retarded with the highest degree of intensity, not only from the difficulty and intensity of the struggle, but also existing in an intelligible form the conflict of principles which have since been so modified in civilized countries as to have become obscure. It was one of those periods in which the preceding age maintained, and from which is derived the policy and institutions of the following age. It was a period in which the spirit of civilization was dominant, and in of social interest to us, inasmuch as from it proceed those principles of universal and international politics and those phases of religion

and theology particularly felt in modern times. In this momentous contest, there came into prominence a character which in all respects is worthy the attention of the student of history, and which embodies the ideal of civil and religious liberty. The short but brilliant reign of Gustavus Adolphus is not only the most glorious age of Swedish history, but is also of great consequence to the history of modern Europe and the Protestant Church.

He embodied, represented and brought to a head the tendencies of his own age. But he did more than that. He read his time, "translating its dumb inarticulate cry into some articulate language," divined its wants, and satisfied them. He saw a work to be done, and used the existing material for its performance. In the grasp of the situation, in the construction of his purpose, in the utilization of his opportunities, in its execution, Gustavus showed that he was truly great. His personality constituted a turning point in the stream of events. This single personality so impressed an ideal on the world that it will never be effaced. It stands there as a heavenly sign, an ever-living witness of what has been, a prophetic witness of what may still be; the revealed embodied possibilities of human nature.



and the only person who is not a member of the  
this organization is not a member of the organization  
character which is all respects to which the  
tion of the subject of which, and which contains  
level of which and which is not a member of the  
illiant which is not a member of the organization  
most famous and of which is not a member of the  
great importance to the history of which is not a  
the important history.

It is not, however, and brought to a  
near the beginning of the year. But he is not  
than that, he was the first, "the first of the  
investigation of the first of the first of the  
the world, and which is not a member of the  
and used the first of the first of the first  
and. In the year of the first of the first  
a nation of the first of the first of the first  
of the first of the first of the first of the first  
to the first of the first of the first of the first  
which is not a member of the first of the first  
personally, as indicated in the first of the first  
It will never be the first of the first of the first  
which is not a member of the first of the first  
a historic which is not a member of the first of the first  
which is not a member of the first of the first

Such great men "far more than any Alps or Coliseums are the true world-wonders", which it concerns us to behold clearly and imprint on our remembrance.





## CHAPTER I.

### THE SWEDEN WHICH GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS HAD BEHIND HIM IN HIS REMARKABLE CAREER.

The heritage of Gustavus Adolphus possesses an irresistible charm for all who take an interest in the great revolution of thought and action with which his name will for all time be closely associated. He has certain traits which seem inborn and which make the study of his ancestry an indispensable prelude to the proper appreciation of his life and character. A number of questions such as that of the succession to the Swedish throne, questions around which many of the succeeding vital events revolved, make it quite necessary for us to survey the history of Sweden in regard to the Church and State.



## CHAPTER I.

THE SUBJECT WHICH SURVIVES AFTER THE  
LIFE OF A MAN IS HIS CHARACTER.

The purpose of this book is to present  
an historical sketch for all who are  
interested in the great revolution of thought  
and action which has come upon the world  
since the days of the Renaissance. It is a  
study of the man who was the first to  
lead to the proper reorganization of his life  
and character. A number of questions arise  
as to the necessity of the Revolution  
in the life of the individual which came of the  
Renaissance. Questions arise which may be  
summed up in three main points, which are  
quite necessary for us to survey the history  
of Sweden in regard to the Church and State.

I.

The exact time when the Swedes came to what is now Sweden is not known, but historians are convinced that they were there several thousand years before Christ, and came up from the south. The people that settled in the region around the great lakes were called Goths, and the name still persists in Östergötland and Västergötland. Another group called the Svear penetrated beyond the great forests, Tiveden and Kolmården, and made their home north of Lake Mälaren on the fertile plain now known as Uppland. There on the banks of the river Fyrisån Swedish history began, on the spot where stands the university town Upsala. There lived the most renowned of the local kings, and there stood the greatest heathen temple in the Scandinavian North. Gradually the Svear conquered the neighboring tribes and gave their name to the entire country, and Upsala became the Mt. Olympus of the Nordic gods.

The rulers of the Svear were a great family called the Ynglings, reputed to have descended from the god, Yngve-Frej. It was he, the saga said, who had built the renowned fame of Old Upsala, and his descendants were so highly venerated that the head of the family conducted sacrifices to the gods, not



The exact time when the Swedes came to

what is now Sweden is not known, but historians are

convinced that they were there several

centuries before Christ, and some

up from the south. The people that settled in the

region around the great lakes were called Goths, and

the name still persists in Gotland and Västman-

land. Another group called the Avars penetrated to

what the great Goths, Finns and Swedes, and

with their home north of Lake Urmia in the Baltic

plain now known as Uppsala. Their on the banks of

the river Rappan Swedish history began, on the spot

where stands the magnificent town of Uppsala. Their land

the most renowned of the local kings, and there stood

the greatest heathen temple in the Scandinavian North.

Gradually the Avars conquered the neighboring tribes

and gave their name to the entire country, and Uppsala

became the city of the Avars.

The rulers of the Avars were a great family

called the Ynglings, reported to have descended from

the god, Yngve-Frey. It was he, the gods said, who

had built the renowned lake of Uppsala, and his

descendants were so highly regarded that the head

of the family considered sacrificed to the gods, not

only for the people under his own roof but for the  
Ruler was whole people. He was the high priest<sup>1</sup>  
also Priest as well as the ruler of the kingdom.

The sagas have much to tell of the Yngling kings, many of whom were great warriors, but most of the tales are romances. The first king of whom we have any positive knowledge is Ottaf Vendelkråke. His son was Adils.

An effort was made to introduce Christianity into Sweden about 800 A.D. Anskar, a darkish, Bene-

First Christian dictine monk of twenty-eight  
Missionary attempt years of age from a cloister of  
in Sweden

Corbie in Picardy, and his friend the monk, Vitmar, worked first among the Danes and came to Sweden in 830. He was sent by the son of Charlemagne, King Louis the Pious (de Débonnaire), who, seeing that he could not defend his realm against the Vikings, thought that it might be possible instead to soften<sup>2</sup> their savagery by converting them to Christianity.

To this end he sent Anskar to preach the word of God to the Scandinavians--he became called the Apostle to the North. However, he did not remain long in Sweden. He tried to return a second time but misfortune attended him, so he went to Germany where as long as he lived, he worked for the con-

-----

1

Stevens: page 8

2

Grimberg: page 44, Vol. I



only for the people under his control but for the whole people. He was the first to do this as well as the ruler of the nation.

The paper gave much to tell of the English king, king of whom very great matters, the king of the king and the king. The first king of whom we have any positive knowledge. The first king of whom we have any positive knowledge. The first king of whom we have any positive knowledge.

An effort was made to introduce Christianity

into Sweden about 600 A.D. when, a Danish, king-

discovered some of twenty-eight years of age from a collection of

people in Norway, and his friend the king, king,

which first among the king and came to Sweden in

600. He was sent by the king of Denmark, king,

Louis the Pious (the Pious), was, during that

he could not defend his realm against the Vikings,

knowing that he might be possibly forced to return

and carrying his countrymen back to Christianity.

to this end he sent another to preach the word of

God to the Scandinavians--he became called the

apostle to the North. However, he did not remain

long in Sweden. He tried to return a second time

but this time attended him, so he went to Norway

where he lived as he lived, he worked for the con-

-----

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60  
61  
62  
63  
64  
65  
66  
67  
68  
69  
70  
71  
72  
73  
74  
75  
76  
77  
78  
79  
80  
81  
82  
83  
84  
85  
86  
87  
88  
89  
90  
91  
92  
93  
94  
95  
96  
97  
98  
99  
100

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60  
61  
62  
63  
64  
65  
66  
67  
68  
69  
70  
71  
72  
73  
74  
75  
76  
77  
78  
79  
80  
81  
82  
83  
84  
85  
86  
87  
88  
89  
90  
91  
92  
93  
94  
95  
96  
97  
98  
99  
100

version of the North by educating Scandinavian young men and sending them back to preach the gospel in their homeland.

Other attempts were made to introduce Christian doctrines among the Swedes, but 175 years First Christian king of Sweden intervened from Anskar to the baptism of Olaf, the Lap king. Olaf became known as the first Christian king of Sweden. He was taught Christianity by Sigfrid, an English missionary who devoted a long life to teaching the pagan Swedes the gospel. Olaf had passed some of his earlier life in Denmark where Christianity had made more progress; probably he had been favorably impressed with it then. Olaf had been king for seven years when he received baptism, about the year 1000. He died in 1024 not having been able to induce his people to follow his example in adopting the new faith. They compelled him to leave them free to follow the religion of their fathers; while they allowed him to erect a bishopric and gave him the choice of any district in Sweden in which he might build Christian churches.<sup>1</sup> He selected Västergötland (West Gothland). The lands of Svear would not allow Christian priests within their limits or acknowledge Christian kings for their rulers for more than 150 years after the

-----  
1

Stevens: page 10





death of Olaf. A long and troublesome struggle was to continue between the old Scandinavian religion and what was then taught as Christianity. The Swedish peasants of that age had great power in the state and were not slow to exercise it, not only in religion but in other affairs. The baptism of their king to the new faith and the authority his example implied were not enough to win or compel them to its adoption.

St. Erik was honored throughout the Catholic period as the patron saint of the Swedes. His name was **Christian religion** Erik Jervardsson, and he was chosen **recognized in** king by the Svear in 1150. As **Sweden** king he led a Crusade to Finland and forced the Finns to be baptized. After he returned, he was attacked by the Danish prince, Magnus Henriksen, and killed at Upsala in 1160. King Erik sought to accomplish three things (according to the sagas):

1. To build churches and improve services of religion
2. To rule his people according to law and right
3. To subdue the enemies of his faith and realm.

Not until the reign of this king did the Christian religion fully secure its ascendancy in Sweden. Until this time the worship of Odin had been kept up. Erik was the first king who erected a church



Death of Christ. A long and fruitless struggle

was to continue between the old and new religions.

Religion and what was then thought as Christianity.

The Jewish people did not see any great power

in the Bible and were not able to understand it.

Only in religion was it seen as a power. The Jewish

of their time in the new Bible and the authority of

examine looked upon the Bible as a book of power.

to the people.

St. Paul was converted throughout the Christian

period in the early years of the Church. His name was

the name of Saul. With his conversion, and his return

to the faith, the Church was strengthened.

With his return to the faith, the Church was strengthened.

to be strengthened. After his return, he was strengthened

by the faith of the people, and his return, and his return

to the faith, the Church was strengthened.

to the faith, the Church was strengthened.

1. To build churches and improve services of

religion

2. To give the people a new life in the faith

and

3. To educate the children of the faith and

religion

4. To build the faith of the people in the Christian

religion fully according to the teaching of the Bible.

Until this time the people of the faith had been kept

in the faith, the people of the faith had been kept

at Upsala, thus disregarding the Pagan claims as to its special sanctity as the long-recognized center of the old faith. Under his protection, an archbishopric was created too. The virtues and religious devotion of this king gained for him the love of the Swedes who cherished him as their Saint Erik.

## II.

After the death of King St. Erik, various scions of royalty struggled for mastery, while the real power slipped more and more into the hands of the great lords who owned wide estates. Among them, none was more renowned than the Folkung family to which Birger, the heir of Bjälbo belonged. He was appointed King's Jarl, and though he never wore a crown, he was one of the strongest rulers Sweden has ever had. He is remembered chiefly as the founder of Stockholm and the father of a system of laws by which Sweden was governed for centuries. Upon the death of the king in 1520, Birger Jarl aspired to royal honors, but his young son, Valdemar, who on his mother's side descended from the royal family, was made king instead.

King Valdemar, unlike his father, Birger Jarl, was more fond of pleasure than of royal deeds.





Important changes began to take place also. The people lost much of their influence in the affairs of the government, special privileges to the clergy were secured, the powers of the nobles were increased and the authority of the king extended. His younger brother Magnus, felt that he had in himself the qualities of a great ruler, and that he could build up the country which his brother was laying waste. He attacked Valdemar, conquered him at Hova, and in 1275 made himself king. Though he had seized the crown with violence, Magnus was a just and wise king. His protection of the peasants won him the title "Lock-the-barn". Civil wars, lawlessness and dissensions were the order of the day for a hundred years after Magnus-lock-the-barn had died. In 1530 came the terrible plague known as the Black Death which destroyed one third of the population.

The first strong ruler after Magnus-lock-the-barn was a woman, Queen Margareta, who by inheritance and marriage became the regent of Denmark, Norway and Sweden. Thus began the Union which was given formal sanction at Kalmar in 1397, and is therefore known as the Kalmar union. By this celebrated convention, Margaret, daughter of Valdemar Atterdag (IV) king of Denmark and

Kalmar union  
of 1397



Important changes began to take place since the  
people had such a great influence on the activity  
of the Government, especially in the sphere  
of the economy, the power of the nation was increased  
and the activity of the nation expanded. This process  
brought about, that the nation had in its hand the  
issue of a great nation, and that he could build up the  
country which his people were living in. He achieved  
this, completed his work, and in 1977 he was  
told that, though he had a great idea about the  
future, he was a great man and his. His presence  
of the people was the first "great idea".  
Civil war, revolutions and revolutions were the  
order of the day for a hundred years after the  
first war and the. In 1977 was the first  
place known as the first place which God created the  
world as the people.  
The first place which was the first place  
the first was a great, great, great, and the first  
the first was the first and the first the first  
of the first, the first and the first. The  
first the first was the first the first the first  
the first in 1977, and the first the first the first  
the first. The first the first the first, the first  
the first the first (17) the first the first and

widow of King Håkan Magnusson, King of Norway, and by a successful course of policy had obtained the sovereignty of both of these kingdoms on the death of her father and husband, and by a still further effort of ambitious intrigue had caused herself to be elected Queen of Sweden--endeavored to unite all three crowns under one head to be transmitted unim-<sup>1</sup>paired to her successors. As the civil constitution of the respective kingdoms appeared to be but little affected by the change, no great difficulty was at first raised to its accomplishment. Yet the effects which ultimately resulted from it were disastrous in the extreme--productive of results subsequently experienced by Europe at large. The union turned out to be an unhappy one for Sweden and Norway. It is true that Queen Margareta brought back peace and law and order, but she lived in Denmark and favored Denmark at the expense of the other two. Margareta had her young kinsman, Erik of Pomerania crowned king of all three countries, while she continued to rule as before. Things came to a much worse pass when the young king Erik of Pomerania himself assumed the powers of the government. To finance Denmark's wars, he taxed the other two countries heavily and sent Danish provosts to collect the taxes. The cruelty of these foreign servants of the Crown brought on in Sweden a series





of revolts which continued for ninety years and ended in freeing the country from foreign rule. The people of these three countries were geographically and ethnologically one, but such treatment by their rulers seemed like foreign despotism.<sup>1</sup>

After a submission of some continuance, the Swedes determined upon recovering their liberty by the last expedient left for ensuring national independence when supplication and remonstrance have failed. Many of these revolts were fostered in Dalecarlia, where the independent peasant miners were the backbone of Swedish resistance to oppression. The first took place in 1434 and was led by a miner, Engelbrekt Engelbrektsson. Engelbrekt was made regent, but had to share his power with a nobleman, Karl Knutsson Bonde. Only two years after the liberation Engelbrekt was treacherously murdered, and Karl Knutsson Bonde was alone the leader of the patriotic party. Finally complete success of the Swedish insurgents came about under Marshall Knutsson. He was made king in 1448 but by the intervention of the clergy who were mostly attached to Danish interests, the freedom of Sweden was still threatened either by open warfare or secret conspiracy. Karl Knutsson was sometimes

-----  
1

Stevens: page 15



of several other countries for many years and  
ended in 1917, the country was under a  
The people of these three countries were  
and ethnically, but also in the  
their interests were the same.

After a number of years, the

which followed upon the war with liberty in the

and expected to be a very important

independence was a very important

which was a very important

in the country, where the independent

were the people of the country

The first step was to take a

independence was a very important

but it was a very important

soon after. Only two years after the

which was a very important

which was a very important

which was a very important

which was a very important

which was a very important

which was a very important

which was a very important

which was a very important

which was a very important

which was a very important

which was a very important

king, sometimes a penniless fugitive.

The strongest center for Catholicism at this time was the cloister at Vadstena.<sup>1</sup> This cloister had been founded by St. Birgitta, a daughter of the Folkung family, and she is perhaps the most famous woman Sweden ever had. She was married to Ulv Guldmarsson, and after his death left her home in Östergötland to go to Rome. She lived there for many years and though she was often severe in her denunciations of kings and popes, she was held in high veneration. In her old age she undertook a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, which broke down her health, and she died in Rome in 1373. Some years afterwards she was canonized by the pope. The great stone church at Vadstena still bears her name, and she is buried there.<sup>2</sup>

In 1470, shortly after Karl Knutsson Bonde had been made king for the third time he died. The Sweden struggles to throw off Denmark elements of opposition to the union and foreign rule now finally concentrated around the Sture family which became in a large degree the representative of Swedish patriotism and nationality.<sup>3</sup> During his last illness, Karl Knutsson Bonde gave over the government to his young kinsman and helper, Sten Sture, but warned him against

<sup>1</sup>Heidenstam: page 189

<sup>2</sup>Grimberg: page 89, Vol. II

<sup>3</sup>Stevens: page 15



and, according to the records of the

The following is a list of the

and the following is a list of the

and the following is a list of the

and the following is a list of the

and the following is a list of the

and the following is a list of the

and the following is a list of the

and the following is a list of the

and the following is a list of the

and the following is a list of the

and the following is a list of the

and the following is a list of the

and the following is a list of the

and the following is a list of the

and the following is a list of the

and the following is a list of the

In 1870, shortly after the

and the following is a list of the

and the following is a list of the

and the following is a list of the

and the following is a list of the

and the following is a list of the

and the following is a list of the

and the following is a list of the

and the following is a list of the

and the following is a list of the

and the following is a list of the

and the following is a list of the

striving after the crown, which he said had been his undoing. Sten Sture was made regent and defeated the Danes in 1541. The nobles supported Christian because Sture was exacting to them. The peasants supported Sture. In 1500 Sture declares (in the name of the Swedish people) Sweden independent of Denmark. His rule was marked by the founding of Upsala University in 1477. Sten Sture the Elder died in 1503 and was succeeded by his kinsman Svante Nilsson Sture, whose son was Sten Sture the Younger. The Court of Copenhagen continued to contemplate the reestablishment of the Union of Kalmar. In 1504, Christian II was on the Danish throne. Sten Sture the Younger, son of Svante Nilsson Sture, succeeded his father as regent of Sweden in 1512. The unsettled state of Sweden immediately after the election of the new administrator seemed to hold out a favorable opportunity for him to make himself master of the kingdom. Gustavus Trolle, archbishop of Upsala was an ally of Christian II. His father had been unsuccessful in obtaining the administratorship and he had a personal hatred toward the Sture family. Sten Sture the Younger tried to win over Archbishop Trolle, who headed up the Danish faction in Sweden but was unsuccessful. By means of this prelate, a sentence of excommunication from Pope Leo X against the young administrator, Sten Sture was obtained, and under





the pretense of carrying the edict into effect, Christian II in 1618 led the Danes into Swedish territory and proceeded to lay waste the country with fire and sword. He was met and defeated by Sten Sture at Brännkyrka. Christian II then asked for an interview with Sture. He asked that Swedish hostages be sent on board the Danish fleet and remain there until Christian returned safe from the interview. Sture agreed and six of the Swedish nobility were sent to the Danish ship as hostages, among them a youth who later came to be known as Gustavus Vasa. Upon the arrival of these hostages Christian set sail for Denmark with the hostages as his prisoners.

In 1520 the Danes again invaded Sweden and Sten Sture was fatally wounded in battle with them on the ice of Lake Asunden. The Swedes were now led by Sten Sture's widow, Christina Gyllenstierna. Stockholm now had to surrender to Christian II, who was called "The Tyrant". He was proclaimed king in 1520. In November of the same year he instituted the terrible massacre of Swedish noblemen known in history as the "Stockholm Blood-bath", and this was followed by

Stockholm executions throughout the country.  
Blood-Bath

These persons were apprehended by Archbishop Trolle. Ninety-four lords in addition





to magistrates and consuls, and their domestics who had accompanied their masters were seized and imprisoned. The sentence of excommunication, previously pronounced against them at Rome was supposed to preclude the necessity of a formal trial. Then they proceeded to burst into private houses in Stockholm. Among those who perished in this brutal outrage on a people's freedom was the father of Gustavus Vasa, a direct descendant of the Viking kings, who in the days of their untrammelled but barbarous freedom governed the destinies of the Scandinavian people. Apparently Sweden was prostrate under the feet of the tyrant, but ninety years of revolts had educated the Swedes. They had learned to fight and had become more and more determined to drive out the oppressor. The cruelty of the king roused them to a final effort.

### III.

The work of liberation begun by Engelbrekt and continued by the Stures was completed by the young  
**Dissolution of the Union of Kalmar** Swedish nobleman, Gustaf Eriksson Vasa. He conceived the bold project of liberating his country from the tyranny to which it was subjected when he was being held a prisoner in Denmark. Gustavus Vasa was in spirit and in action closely allied to the Vikings and the Vandals who bowed down to Odin,



to maintain and control, and their domestic life  
had recognized their masters were slaves and their  
one. The sentence of execution, however,  
pronounced against them at once was supposed to be  
include the necessity of a formal trial. Then they  
proceeded to turn into private houses in Stockholm.  
Among those who perished in this brutal outrage was a  
people's friend was the father of Gustavus Vasa, a  
direct descendant of the Viking King, who in the days  
of their unbridled but heroic freedom  
the destinies of the Scandinavian people. Apparently  
Sweden was proscribed under the test of the tyrant, so  
many years of revolt had preceded the Swedes. They  
had learned to fight and had become bold and brave  
failed to drive out the oppressor. The result of  
the king found them to a final error.

III.

The work of liberation begun by King  
and continued by his son was completed by the young  
Gustavus Vasa, Gustavus Vasa, Gustavus Vasa,  
He conceived the bold project of lib-  
erating his country from the tyranny to which it was  
subjected when he was being held in a prison in Denmark.  
Gustavus Vasa was in spirit and in action already allied  
to the Vikings and the Vikings who lived down the river.

and lived their stern rough, piratical lives on the borders of ancient Scandinavia. The cruel necessities of later times developed in this young fearless Viking, the power to free a great people from a foreign yoke, and to found a dynasty, which, for over two centuries of change and decay, has occupied one of the highest niches of universal fame.

Within his young heart there lived a passion of revenge against the murderers of his own father and the oppressors of his countrymen. Out of this rude passion there sprang a power which infinitely transcended that possessed by the most devout worshipers of Odin, at whose shrine they imbibed the creed that a man's first duty is to subdue fear--to march forward and quit himself like a man, trusting imperturbably in the appointment and choice of the upper powers.<sup>1</sup> He escaped from Denmark, and being pursued by his oppressors and the oppressors of Sweden, he took refuge in Dalecarlia. He urged the inhabitants of this province to insurrection. The hardy Darlecarlians already sufficiently disposed to a revolt and requiring only a competent leader to direct them, at once flew to arms. A neighboring fortress in which a Danish garrison had been placed for the purpose of overawing the country was at once assailed and carried by storm. Multitudes of Swedish men outlawed by

-----  
1

Leak: page 11





Christian II hastened to join the insurgents and Gustavus Vasa soon saw himself at the head of a formidable army, which in addition to natural courage was in the highest degree exasperated by the memory of past defeat and the infliction of unprovoked wrong. In the war which ensued, the Swedes<sup>1</sup> were almost uniformly victorious. One province after another was cleared of the Danish garrisons. The grateful compatriots of Gustavus Vasa elected him king and he made his entry into Stockholm on Mid-summer Day 1523. On that day, the Union of Kalmar which had lasted 126 years was forever dissolved.<sup>2</sup> He was thirty years of age when recognized as King, "a noble, handsome, intelligent young man whom God had caused to be born to save the country."

His subsequent conduct proved that he was no less competent to advance the civil interests of Gustavus Vasa his countrymen than to conduct their as King armies in the field. Furthermore, through the combined force of policy or reasons of religious conviction, he determined to make of Sweden a Protestant kingdom. He saw the necessity of taking from the powerful prelates of the Roman Church the enormous privileges of power and property which they had usurped, of bringing the nobles into subjection to

1  
Hollings: page 8

2  
Stevens: page 24





the authority of the crown, of providing better security for the peasantry who were at the mercy and cupidity of the clergy and the nobles. He had previously made himself acquainted with the new formula of faith taught by Luther; and when two Swedish students, disciples of Luther at Wittenberg, a Lutheran College in Germany, returned to Sweden in 1519, and began to make known to the people the reformed religion, he had given them encouragement so far as was then in his power.

When he had been proclaimed king, he appointed one of these men, Olaus Petri, to a church in Stockholm and gave the younger brother a professorship at Upsala University. Not long after he selected for his Chancellor, Laurentius Andrea who had previously renounced the Catholic teachings, and translated the New Testament into Swedish, regardless of the theological authorities of the kingdom. He also allowed public discussion between the supporters of the old and new doctrines. He ignored a papal letter ordering a court of inquisition to be held at Stockholm for the trial and punishment of heretics. By such successive efforts on his part, distinguished by the most masterly policy, the Roman Catholic religion was gradually displaced in Sweden and the doctrines of the Lutheran church substituted





in its place until the Confession at Augsburg was at length declared to be the standard of the established faith. In spite of the opposition which he experienced from the clergy and the nobility, the Rikstag at Västerås in 1527 officially established the Lutheran Church in Sweden and reduced the power of the Church by confiscating its land and annexing them to the Crown.<sup>1</sup> The king was to be the head of the Church instead of the Pope. He also strengthened the royal power by making Sweden an hereditary monarchy so that the king should no longer be dependent upon the great Lords for his election.

"To serve God, according to His law, and to love Him above all; to believe in Jesus Christ, as our only Savior; to study and earnestly teach the word of God; to love our neighbor as ourselves, and to observe the ten commandments; this is the true worship which is to be rendered to God-- in this consists good works, God has not prescribed others; the Scriptures speak neither of tapers nor of palms, nor of masses for the redemption of souls, nor of the worship of saints. God, on the contrary has prohibited such practices. He has given us the holy sacrament, as a pledge and token of the forgiveness of our sins; but not that we should put it into gold or silver frame and carry it around to cemeteries and other places."<sup>2</sup>

This was Gustavus Vasa's profession of faith. The common people felt that he was their protector against the tyranny of ecclesiastics and noblemen and loved him greatly. Gustavus Vasa died in 1560. When

-----  
<sup>1</sup>Heidenstam: page 171

<sup>2</sup>Heydenreich: page 11





drawing near the end, and too weak to speak, Gustavus Vasa made signs for paper upon which he feebly scrawled:  
"Rather die a hundred times than abandon the Gospel."<sup>1</sup>

He was succeeded by his eldest son, Erik.

Thus Sweden raised up a power which, not many years afterwards saved European Protestantism from an inglorious extinction. Between this step and the Thirty Years' War there can be traced a perfectly straight line: Gustavus Adolphus was every inch a Vasa. Between Gustavus Vasa and Gustavus Adolphus, there is a link which can never be broken--the link which connects two heroic souls who struggled to keep their faces towards the light in a dark age.

#### IV.

Erik XIV was a handsome and gifted man whose love marriage with the peasant girl, Karin Månsdotter, has cast a romantic halo over his life.

Erik XIV  
as King

He was, however, cruel, treacherous, and licentious and was subject to violent fits of insanity. Knowing the unreliability and violence of Erik, the father attempted to protect the other sons and the kingdom by leaving to the various sons extensive hereditary rights over the kingdom. They were, however, to recognize Erik as king. As soon as Gustavus Vasa

-----  
<sup>1</sup>





died, there arose quarrels between the brothers as to just how much authority Erik might have in their respective duchies.<sup>1</sup> In 1562 John married Catherine, daughter of Sigismund, king of Poland, without Erik's consent--rather, against Erik's wishes and Erik sent an armed force into Finland, captured John and put him on trial for various imputed treasons. John was condemned to death but the sentence was mitigated to life imprisonment. John, then, deprived of all possessions and with his young wife, was carried to Grips-holm Castle where he was confined four years, fearful always that the insane fury of Erik would convert his prison to a grave.

The deranged and inflamed mind of the Swedish king caused him also to be suspicious of even his best friends. He stabbed to death with his own hand Nicolas Sture because he had read in the constellations that a member of that illustrious family would hurl him from the throne. In 1567 he issued an order for the execution of the state prisoners at Upsala. Shortly afterward he offered to restore John to liberty if he would acknowledge as lawful and right heir to the crown, the male children born to Erik by Karin Månsdotter. About this time Duke Magnus, the third son of Gustavus Vasa became insane as a result of having been forced to sign the

-----  
1

Chapman: page 5





death-warrant of his brother John, and for the remainder of his life had to be retained in confinement. Duke John and Duke Charles took up arms, brought Erik before the assembled States of the kingdom which deposed him and condemned him to perpetual confinement, and made his brother, John, king in 1568.<sup>1</sup> Erik died after eight years, having been poisoned by the order of his brother, King John III.

In Sweden, as in other countries, the Reformation had not been accomplished simply by the force of truth and the effects of personal conviction.<sup>1</sup> Under Gustavus Vasa Sweden had gained political freedom by the break-up of the Union of Kalmar, and national freedom had been completed by the extrication of the Swedish Church from its subjection to the Papacy, by the adoption of the Lutheran faith. In the rural districts especially, the new faith had been thrust upon a reluctant priesthood and bitterly resented by an indignant people. But because the political ambitions of those rulers, at this time so identified with the cause of the Catholic faith, threatened always to disturb their peace and prosperity, the people of Sweden, at Erik's fall, were generally reconciled to the change in faith. A new generation passionately attached to the Confession of Augsburg

-----  
1

Stevens: page 12





had almost supplanted the men who had rushed armed to the rescue of the monastic system and the Latin Mass. Erik himself was suspected of an inclination towards Calvinism and certainly he had not the slightest leanings toward Rome because of the dangers to the Swedish throne by the political forces connected with Catholicism. The Church was in a state of tranquility during Erik's reign.

John's weakness of character, his restless ambition, and unsteady and vacillating mind were soon made manifest in his acts and policy. He had not the excuse of insanity for his want of humanity, justice, and good faith and did not carry out the orders of the States in what regarded his elder brother's treatment in confinement, in this respect falling far short of what Erik's conduct towards him had been in like circumstances. He departed from his father's policy and extended privileges to the nobility and clergy.

But that which probably did the most to finally render it impracticable for John to rule the Swedish people and to compel him to abandon the throne was his attempt at a counter-reformation in the kingdom, but this reform measure did not mean a recognition of the Pope as the head of the Church in Sweden. John III had artistic tastes and enriched





Sweden with works of art. His love of beauty and pomp led him to favor the Catholic form of church service, and he was further influenced by his wife, the Catholic princess, Katarina Jagellonica of Poland, daughter of Sigismund. During John's imprisonment he studied theology and she was constantly with him, an example of unaffected piety. In her character he saw the system which his father had subverted presented as it seemed in its practical results, and these were lovely to look upon.<sup>1</sup> Was there no middle course between embracing all the errors of the Catholic Church or renouncing all her fellowship? John hoped, as many better and wiser men have hoped that the reformed churches might not always be reduced to so greivous an alternative. He trusted that some common ground might still be discovered on which Lutherans and Roman Catholics could meet, join together as brethren in the unity of spirit and in bond of peace. Animated by such hopes he took the first steps in a semi-counter-reformation against the Lutheran church. He wished to bring about the establishment of a church in Sweden akin to the Anglican Church of England, and independent of the Pope.

He induced the old archbishop to restore to the handbook or office of Divine Service many ceremonies which had been taken out by the Reformers. He revived some of the old magnificence of public worship.

±-----





He reinvested the bishops with their primitive and proper title, which had given place to that of the ordinary. He called the Jesuits to Sweden. He declared that the work of the reformation had been carried to excess, that the prayer-book required further revision after the model of the ancient liturgies; and that the fountain of pure doctrine was to be found "in the primitive church", in the "writings of the old church fathers and not in the muddy pools of modern theology." The king himself took up the work of revising the prayer book, called the "Red Book" which the clergy of Stockholm did not scruple to condemn as embodying false doctrine and introducing interpolations.

The King advanced continually nearer to the religion of Rome because it was the only way in which he appeased violent pangs of conscience because of the death of his brother and other cruelties. He confessed and received absolution from the Catholic Church which seemed to tranquilize his soul for a while. It is evident that he intended no permanent reconciliation with Rome except on his own terms, however. He sent an embassy to Rome demanding:

1. Freedom of marriage to the clergy
2. The privilege of the cup in the Holy Eucharist to the laity
3. The celebration of Divine Service in the Vulgar tongue.





After John's admission to the Roman Church he dissembles. Two factors particularly tended to lessen his inclinations to her doctrines and ritual:

1. His quarrel with the pope, and
2. His second marriage, with Gunilla Bjelke of a noble Swedish family of the Lutheran faith.

During this period the Protestants had found sympathy and protection in the duchy of Charles, who Lutherans protected by Duke Charles would yield nothing in religious differences. He clung to the principles of Gustavus Vasa and attempted to maintain them against the measures taken by John. "What separated the two brothers was in fact the same contest that now divided the world." (Geiger) Charles continued dissensions with the nobility and clergy. Finally, in 1592 he died. The great canker that ate into his soul, the motive that served instead of natural ferocity or hatred to urge John on to the greatest of crimes was a craven fear in which he indulged until he was afraid of his own shadow. All his endeavors had no permanent success or protector.

The Catholic influence was strengthened when John III died and his son Sigismund, who was also king Sigismund and Catholicism of Poland and educated in the Catholic faith, became king in 1592. But the States, anxious to maintain their rights and the faith of the kingdom, required of Sigismund a decree prohib-



After John's admission to the House of Commons in 1790, the House of Commons, in 1790, passed a resolution to the effect that the House of Commons should not receive any petition from any person or persons, who were not members of the House of Commons, or who were not entitled to sit in the House of Commons.

1. His personal with the House, and

2. His personal with the House, and

of a noble Swedish family in the House of Commons.

During this period the House of Commons was divided

extremely and violently in the House of Commons, who

would give nothing in relation to

the House of Commons. He was in the House of Commons

of the House of Commons and was elected as a member of the House of Commons

the members of the House of Commons. What separated the two

members was in fact the same subject, but the divided

the House of Commons. The House of Commons contained members with

the nobility and clergy. The House of Commons was divided

greatly between the House of Commons, the House of Commons

derived instead of natural liberty or liberty to give

them on to the House of Commons and a House of Commons

which he indulged until he was elected to his own House.

All his efforts had no permanent success in the House of Commons.

The Catholic influence was strengthened when

John III died and his son William, who was also King

of Sweden and elected in the House of Commons

King, became King in 1792. The House of Commons

acted, and to maintain their rights and the rights

of the House of Commons, regarded of William a House of Commons

iting any religion except Lutheranism, and pledging himself to employ in public service none who was not prepared to defend them to the utmost.<sup>1</sup> These energetic measures induced the new king to yield. But he soon violated his promise, and ordered a Catholic church to be built in each town of the kingdom. To render his perjury still more glaring, he refused to be crowned by the Lutheran prelate, but granted this honor to the Pope's nuncio. Surrounded by Popes and Jesuits, Sigismund shocked both the national and religious feelings of his subjects.

Charles met and defeated Sigismund in 1598 and the following year he was deposed in favour of his young son Wladyslaw, provided that he should be sent to Sweden to be educated in the Lutheran religion. Duke Charles was appointed as regent and some years later began to assume the name of King Charles IX. Charles was the only son of Gustaf Vasa who inherited the great qualities of his father, and he devoted himself to defending his father's lifework. He again curbed the great lords who had taken advantage of John's weakness to resume altogether too much power and depended chiefly on the peasants for support, so that he too was called the "peasant king". The Diet of Söderköping in 1595 suppressed the last remaining monastery (Vastena),



After my return from the States, and having  
himself to employ in public service, was not  
prepared to return from the States. These were  
public services induced him to visit, but he  
soon visited his family, and visited a family home  
to his wife in the town of the States. In return, his  
family will visit him, he returns to the States  
by the Eastern Express, and visited this town to the  
State's service. He returned to the States, and  
was elected for the national and public service of  
the States.

Charles was the oldest of the family in 1808  
and the following year he was elected to serve in the  
young man's service, provided that he would be sent  
to Sweden to be educated in the Eastern service.  
That Charles was appointed as agent and public  
later began to assume the name of King Charles II.  
Charles was the only son of Gustaf who was interested  
the great qualities of his father, and he devoted all  
his life to continuing his father's life. He again was  
and the great love who had taken advantage of his  
wishes to return to the States, and he was not  
son of the States for support. He was the  
was called the "young Charles". The King of the States  
in 1812 supported the first national assembly (Riksdag).

all Catholic rites, and the Augsburg Confession was again proclaimed, and all the Swedes present cried:

"Our persons and our property,  
all that we have in this world, we will  
sacrifice, if it is necessary, rather  
than abandon the pure Gospel."<sup>1</sup>

Charles, in his old age, fought desperately against the Danes who, under their great king, Christian IV for the last time in history invaded Sweden. This is known as the Kalmar war. Worn out by strain, Charles IX died in the middle of the war in 1611.

"If the Swedish Church owes to this great prince an immense and evident debt of gratitude, other branches of the Protestant church are scarcely less truly his debtors. For to the ardent love of the Reformation which he instilled into his illustrious heir they mainly owe it, that in the hour of their greatest peril and extremity he stood forth with heart and hand to rescue them from ruin. The glory of Charles has been dimmed by the surpassing glory of the first and second Gustavus. But the more closely we scrutinize his character, the more rigidly we investigate his career, the more evident it is--and with such praise he himself beyond all doubt would have been satisfied--that he was well worthy to have been the son of such a father, and the father of such a son."

It will be seen more clearly, as the story advances that the hero of Protestantism resembled to a much greater degree the hardiness, the fearlessness, the intrepidity of his grandfather, Gustavus Vasa, than

-----  
1

Chautauquan: Gustavus Adolphus - Max Lenz, translated  
from Preussische Jahrbucher





he reflected the much more subdued character of his father. And yet there was a softer strain running through him--a strain which was constantly putting itself in evidence by the performance of<sup>1</sup> deeds of charity or clemency.

---

<sup>1</sup>

Leak: page 17





## CHAPTER II.

### THE SWEDEN THAT GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS SERVED AND DEFENDED

But his heritage is no more important than the formulating influences of his environment, the forces which built up and trained the mind of Gustavus Adolphus. When he must needs serve his country actively, his attributes were then tested and tempered by experience. Through the whole story we see a consistent working out of principle.





I

Gustavus Adolphus was born in Stockholm castle on December 9, 1594. He was the eldest son of Charles IX and Christine, daughter to Adolphus, Duke of Schleswig-Holstein, and grand-daughter of Frederick I, King of Denmark, and descendant by his mother, of Christine, daughter of Phillip the Generous, margrave of Hesse. Thus he was partly of German origin.

His baptism on the first day of January, 1595, gave rise to public rejoicings. People took pleasure in relating that ten years before this happy day, the renowned astronomer Tycho-Brahe had foretold the birth of a prince, who would render illustrious the States of Northern Europe and save the evangelical church. If the child may be called the father of the man, his early developments certainly indicated that he would fulfill the astrological prediction. As Gustavus advanced in childhood, he grew tall and strong in body, he developed a quick and vigorous intellect, and

"nursed a seriousness which was a part of his nature, also indulged in such glorious dreams of ambition as are vouchsafed only to noble minds."<sup>2</sup>

-----  
1

Chapman: page 44

2

Chapman: page 48





He was simply and hardily nurtured. He was educated with a strictness of discipline. The choice of the instructors for the boy was **Early progress in knowledge extraordinary** made by the Estates. The king drew up with his own hand from time to time a few plain rules for the guidance of his son, but committed the general superintendence of his education to a Brandenburg nobleman, Otto von Mörner, and the details of it partly to John Schroder (Skytte) and partly to a gentleman of French extraction, Monsieur Burrey or Burreus. Gustavus made rapid progress under these instructors. At twelve years of age, he could speak with fluency, German, French, Italian, understood Spanish and English tolerably, and a little Polish and Russ.

One of the injunctions to his son by Charles IX is as follows:

A Minute of Remembrance for my son Gustavus.

"Fear God before all; honor father and mother; show brotherly affection to those of thine own blood; love the servants of thy father, requite them after their due; be gracious to thy subordinates; punish evil; love goodness and meekness; put good trust in all, yet with moderation and learn first to know persons; hold by the law without respect to persons; impair no man's well-won privileges in so far as they agree with the law; diminish not thy princely income but with caution, that they who share thy bounty may remember the source whence it has flowed; depress the proud and the impudent and be the benefactor of the humble and the timid. May thy liberality never tend to profusion and thy gifts always be distributed with choice and moderation."<sup>1</sup>

1





When the war between Spain and States of Holland was suspended by the twelve year's truce,

Interest in many soldiers of fortune came to Sweden  
military  
affairs attracted to its disturbed condition and the martial character of its ruler. Charles encouraged familiarity between Gustavus and these gallant adventurers, who kindled his enthusiasm and taught him the art of war as practised by their celebrated commander, the prince Maurice. When Gustavus Adolphus was only six years of age, his father took him, right in the middle of the winter on a trip through Finland and around the Baltic. It has been said about Charles IX that "like an eagle he drove the young bird from the nest early in order to teach him how to fly."

When he was but nine years of age, he attended the sessions of the R<sup>ad</sup>.<sup>1</sup> Charles accu-  
Introduction into public life tomized the young prince, almost from his childhood to be present at the transaction of important public business, and as he grew competent to the task, to take part in it. The self confidence no less than the aptitude for affairs thus created, there can be no question, was eminently conducive to his future greatness.<sup>2</sup> At ten years of age (1604) he was elected crown prince

-----  
<sup>1</sup>See Appendix: Article No. 1

<sup>2</sup>Chapman: page 48





of Sweden. At thirteen, he heard complaints and received ambassadors. When scarcely fourteen, being engaged with the queen in a journey to the southern portion of the kingdom, he receives from the king his father the following exhortation:

"Be kind to all those who seek thy help, so that thou let them not go comfortless from thee; neglect not, when any man makes known to thee a reasonable grievance, to hear it and give us to understand it. So far as rests with thee, assist every man to his right, and press this sedulously on our lieutenants, bailiffs, and officers; then will prosperity with God's help, be thine."<sup>1</sup>

At fifteen, he received from his father the province of Finland, the town and castle of Vesteras, together with the greater part of the adjacent district, and the titles of Prince (Storforste) of Finland, and Duke of Esthonia and Vestmanland.<sup>2</sup>

His father did not confine himself to cultivating his intellect, but took special care of his heart.<sup>3</sup> He inspired him with a love for labor and trained him in the practice of all those virtues which make great men and good Christians. His religious instruction was thorough, enabling him to account for his faith, though its object was not so much to explain the principles of the Reformation, as to endear them to his heart. Charles the IX was a Calvinist.<sup>4</sup> He interspersed

-----  
<sup>1</sup>Geijer: page 211

<sup>2</sup>Geijer: page 210

<sup>3</sup>Heydenreich: page 12

<sup>4</sup>Cambridge Modern History: page 189



at London. In London, he found an Englishman  
who lived in a house. This Englishman, who  
lived with the woman in a house in the country  
portion of the kingdom, he received from the king in

between the following explanation:

"The king to all those who come  
the king, he said, that he was not  
content with the king; he said, that he  
and that he was not content with the king.  
The king, he said, he was not content with the king.  
The king, he said, he was not content with the king.  
The king, he said, he was not content with the king.  
The king, he said, he was not content with the king.  
The king, he said, he was not content with the king.  
The king, he said, he was not content with the king.  
The king, he said, he was not content with the king.

At fifteen, he received from his father the kingdom  
of England, the king and queen of England, together  
with the greater part of the kingdom of England, and  
the king of France (the king of France, the king  
of England and the king of France).

His father did not receive the kingdom of

containing his kingdom, but the kingdom was of  
his father. He received his kingdom with a  
love for his father and kingdom in his  
position of all those which were given him and  
good Christian. His religious instruction was to  
such, enabling him to account for his father, though  
his object was not to explain the principles  
of the religion, as to explain them to his father.

Charles the IV was a Christian. He interpreted  
the king's page 111  
the king's page 112  
the king's page 113  
the king's page 114

with his kingly duties, the writings of many hymns, prayers, and catechisms, and he and his wife were generous patrons of literature and the arts which, during their reign, were beginning to exert a potent influence upon the life of nations.

"As a Protestant, he (Gustavus Adolphus) inherited a love of the Bible, as a child of the Renaissance, a taste for poesy, music and eloquence. He had moreover served a strict apprenticeship in statecraft."

In short, Charles IX spared nothing to render his son capable and worthy of governing Sweden.

When Gustavus was only fifteen years of age (1610) he asked to be placed in the command of

His "Baptism of Fire" the troops in the war with Russia.

"Charles, however, proud of his son and conscious of his great abilities had too much wisdom to comply. <sup>1</sup> Quoting from Axel Oxenstierna:

"Howbeit, since this was entrusted to others he was, not without his discontentment, restrained for the year to abide at the court of his lord father, until he had passed his sixteenth year, and entered his seventeenth. In April of the year 1611, as king Christian IV of Denmark had renounced peace and declared war, the prince was by his father, according to ancient custom, pronounced in the Diet of the 24th of April fit to bear the sword, with which, the day following, he was invested in most splendid guise. Thereafter straightway he caused the forces of West Gothland to assemble, especially the foreign troops which had winter quarters there, in order to join his father with the same at Jonkoping as came to pass, and likewise to march to Kalmar, at that time beleaguered, for the relief of the town. In this expedition of Kalmar, did





the young lord, under the guidance of his father, king Charles, endure the first trial of warfare, being present at all the remarkable encounters and actions, in the chief himself mostly leading and bearing the command, from the beginning to the end." <sup>1</sup>

Shortly afterward, on October 30th, Charles IX died at Nykoping. (1611).

When the physicians told Charles that he was to die, he sent for Gustavus, and after giving his son his last instructions with respect to the government of the country he had loved, he looked up and tenderly whispered, "Ille faciet". (He shall do it).

A regency consisting of the Queen, Duke John and six of the chief nobles were provided by Gustavus the King's will to govern the Kingdom Adolphus becomes King until Gustavus should have attained the age of eighteen years. The regency considered so complex a government ill suited to the actual state of affairs and therefore resigned their functions in December, 1611. Duke John, the elder son of Sigismund by a Swedish lady, at the same time confirmed his previous abdication which the will of Charles had permitted him to revoke. In comparing the scrupulousness of such acts as this on the part of Charles IX, with Sigismund's conduct, who trampled on all his engagements,

" it is impossible not to recognize





in the king of Poland the disciple of the Jesuits and in Charles, the disciple of a religion which above all speaks to the conscience."<sup>1</sup>

The States, therefore, after pledging Gustavus to maintain their privileges, and especially to govern the realm in spiritual things according to the Augsburg Confession and the decrees of Upsala, resolved

"that Sweden could be best ruled by one man, and that what was wanting to the young king in years, God had made up in wisdom and understanding."<sup>2</sup>

## II.

When Gustavus Adolphus was hailed as King in 1611, at seventeen years of age, he first had to complete

War with  
Denmark

his father's war against the invading Danes.

Scarcely was this Diet at Nykoping over before Gustavus hastened to grapple with this nearest and most powerful adversary. The bitter struggle continued all through the year, at the end of which (1611) the Danes were in possession of the two strongest fortresses in Sweden, Kalmar and Elfsborg. Thus the Danes were able to destroy the commerce in the Baltic, and could harass every department of the home and industrial life of the nation.

In one campaign, at Vidsjö, near the Småland frontier, when the young general had, it would seem, imprudently weakened himself by detaching a part of his army and awaiting the junction of Duke John to take the

-----  
<sup>1</sup>Heydenreich: page 10

<sup>2</sup>Chapman: page 52



6

offensive, he was surprised and defeated by his opponents who had been reinforced without his knowledge. The king himself, while galloping his horse over the ice, broke through the ice. He was rescued after a struggle by Peter Baner and a trooper named Larson.

During the interval of the winter and summer campaigns, Gustavus, while taking all prudent measures for the defence of his kingdom, appointed three fast days for supplicating God's blessing upon his arms.

"The piety which was among the most clearly defined features of the king's character, no doubt prompted this appointment, and led him to anticipate the same results from it that policy has often anticipated from similar appointments though upon different grounds."<sup>1</sup>

And certainly the result of the ensuing campaign was different from what might naturally have been predicted, the enemy being so strong, the king in some important points so ill supported, his best generals abroad, his nobility in some instances slack, in others exhausted, all wanting to command and few willing to obey.

At the beginning of April, the Danish forces assembled at Helsingborg to begin the summer campaign. They were divided into two armies, one of 18,000 which was under Christian marched to reduce Elfsborg and Gullberg; the other, consisting of 20,000 under Marshall Rantzow, to recover <sup>"</sup>Oland. After accomplishing these





designs it was intended to join forces and attack Jönköping, which, Kalmar being already in the possession of the Danes, would have been a key to the whole South of Sweden. If they had succeeded the Swedes would have been almost powerless to prevent their march upon the capital, where the Danish fleet would have rendered all possible assistance in the attack. Also the Danes had splendid fleets stationed at Kalmar and at Elfsborg to blockade the ports.

Gullberg and Elfsborg fell; but Gustavus by his activity in the field, by engaging the peasantry to obstruct the roads, and occupy the woods in a guerilla warfare, by strengthening the fortress of Jönköping in spite of the advice of his generals, who would have persuaded him to raze it to the ground, and also aided by terrible pestilence and famine in the camp of the enemy, succeeded in preventing the junction of the Danish armies. He afterward harassed them so cruelly that they had to return home.

The Danish nobles now objected to the increase of Christian's power for his own ends, and were anxious to see the war end. King James I of England sent out two mediators, Spense and Anstruther to be peacemakers. A treaty was arranged (January 18, 1613) which left both parties in practically the same position they occupied before the first shot was fired and the first life sacrificed. The treaty confirmed the Peace of Stettin made in 1570 except in so far as altered by the present treaty.





Gustavus gave up Jämtland, the fortress of Sonneborg, and all dominion over the Lapps on the seacoast from Titisfjord to Waranger. Christian surrendered Kalmar, Elfsborg, Öland, all the territory taken during the war. But for the cession of the fortresses, Gustavus had to pay 1,000,000 rix-dollars within six years of the date of the treaty. The city of Gothenburg and the province of Västergötland were to be security for payment.<sup>1</sup> To raise the money to pay off that debt meant a considerable sacrifice on the part of the Swedish nation. But they did their utmost and in two years they had paid it off.

"Nothing short of the necessity of getting rid of a near and troublesome enemy would have persuaded Gustavus Adolphus to consent to terms so unfavorable." <sup>2</sup>

Even the King's own table silver was sent to the mint to be coined to pay off this debt.

Though Gustavus had not entirely triumphed over his enemies, and though he had committed one bad blunder in allowing himself to be caught by a surprise attack, he had distinguished himself as a leader, and had accomplished a great deal against all odds. He had shown the fearlessness of his Viking forefathers.

-----  
<sup>1</sup>Cambridge Modern History: page 179

<sup>2</sup>Grinberg: Vol. III, page 200





### III.

Gustavus had scarcely concluded the peace with Denmark, when he was called to Russia. In that War with Russia country, since 1598 there had been continual quarrels concerning the succession to the throne which was destroyed by the death of Czar Feodor.

"The wily Sigismund, deprived of the throne of Sweden, sought to indemnify himself by trying to seize the throne of Russia."<sup>1</sup>

Sigismund attempted to carry out his plans by putting up a phantom Czar to claim the throne in the name of Demetrius who was supposed to have died. Vasil Shuiski, who was supported by one faction in Russia, in 1606 declared himself Czar, and appealed to Sweden for aid.

In 1613, there was an outburst of national enthusiasm in Russia which resulted in the election of Michael Feodorovich, of the house of Romanov as Czar. He was a native Russian who had been brought up in a convent and in the love and observance of the Greek religion, which was the church of the Russian people. Charles, both to frustrate the designs of Sigismund and to gain a good frontier against Russia had agreed to "furnish 5000 men at the cost of the czar". James dela Gardie was the leader of these troops. Throughout the fifteen years of squabbling over the Russian succession, the Swedish monarch supported one candidate for the



III

General's had recently concluded the peace  
with Germany, when he was called to Russia. In that  
country, since 1935 there had been an  
increased political movement for the  
for the peace which was destroyed by the death of  
General Franchet.

"The only thing that  
of the House of Commons, which is  
generally known as being the  
House of Commons."

Significant attempts to carry out his plan by turning  
up a plan for that is that the House of Commons is  
demanded by the House of Commons. That is the  
who are supported by the House of Commons. In 1935  
declared himself that he would be elected for the  
In 1935, there was an attempt to national  
opposition in the House of Commons. In the election of  
Michael Footman, at the House of Commons in 1935,  
he was a active member and was then brought up in a  
movement and in the House of Commons at the House  
telling, which was the House of Commons. In 1935,  
General, who is the House of Commons. In 1935,  
to form a good frontier against Russia and agreed to  
"British 2000 men at the cost of the army". That was  
British was the House of Commons. In 1935,  
fifteen years of working over the Russian question,  
the British House of Commons was established for the

throne, and Sigismund supported another. One Russian faction offered the crown to Wladyslaw, the son of Sigismund; another made a similar offer to Charles Phillip, the brother of Gustavus. In 1610, Sigismund himself marched against Moscow, defeated Shuiski at Kluichino, and deposed him. The council of the Kremlin had already elected Wladyslaw, the son of Sigismund as czar,

"but Sigismund, making light of his son's pretensions, as if by right of conquest assumed the title of autocrat of Russia, and endeavored to bring the whole country under his yoke."<sup>1</sup>

In 1613, however, the Russians attempted to heal their own differences.

"The clergy used their great influence to such an extent that they made it essential that the czar should conform to the church of the people--the Greek church. Hence they elected Michael Feodorovich, of the house of Romanov czar."<sup>2</sup>

With his election came an outburst of national enthusiasm. Novgorod remained true to the orthodox religion and the Swedish king, and as the new faith had gained a foundation even in these parts of Russia, many of the inhabitants openly expressed their anxiety to remain permanently under the power of the Swedish crown. The new czar wanted to drive out both forces, the Catholic ones of Poland, and the Protestant ones of Sweden.

-----  
<sup>1</sup>Chapman: page 73

<sup>2</sup>Leak: page 121





They attacked and massacred the Swedish garrisons of Tichim and Augdoff. Gustavus offered peace, but they refused. Gustavus Adolphus thought his presence was necessary in Russia so he went there and succeeded in regaining Tichim and Augdoff, but failed to make any real progress. He again offered peace, but his terms were too extravagant for consideration, and Russia's internal disorganization impeded action. Negotiations were indefinitely postponed and soon afterward Gustavus was compelled to return home to transact some important State affairs. It was inconvenient for him to return to the seat of war, and consequently he again presented slightly modified terms of peace to the Russian Court but they were again refused.

In the summer of 1615, not having yet effected a peace with Russia, Gustavus Adolphus crossed the Baltic and began the siege of Plescow. The attack on so fortified a city was not very successful and intervention by James I, king of England, and also Holland finally persuaded the Swedes to raise the siege. On the 27th of February, 1617, the Treaty of Stolbova was drawn up and signed.<sup>1</sup> Efforts to clear his country from the forces who had gained admission during a period of internal dissension and anarchy and were making it a ground on which to fight battles which, in all fairness<sup>2</sup> ought to have been fought either in Sweden or Poland.

-----  
<sup>1</sup>Cambridge Modern History: page 179

<sup>2</sup>Leak: page 123





This short war had been a severe school to the young king of Sweden. He had fought under his valiant constable, James de la Gardie, whose gallantry had struck the Russians to such a degree that they put his name in their calendar, thus conferring religious honors upon him. By this war, Gustavus had succeeded in completely shutting out Russia from the Baltic and had foiled the purposes of Sigismund. On the frontier a stone bearing the three crowns of Sweden was raised with the inscription: "Here Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, set the limits of his realm. May his work, under a Gracious Providence, be lasting."

Gustavus in his speech to the Estates after his return shows his satisfaction at the conclusion of the war so favorable to his State:

"It is not least among the benefits which Divine Providence hath conferred upon Sweden, that the Russ, with whom we have lived from of old in an uncertain relation and critical posture of affairs, must now let slip for ever the robber's nest, whence he before so often annoyed us. Of a truth he is a dangerous neighbour; his landmarks stretch from the Baltic to the Northern and Caspian, coming nigh to the Black Sea; he hath a powerful nobility and numerous peasantry, populous towns, and can bring great armies into the field; now cannot this foe launch but a boat on the East without our leave. The great lakes of Ladoga and Peipus, the river of Narva, thirty miles of wide morasses, and strong fortresses part him from us; Russia is excluded from the Baltic and I hope to God it will henceforth be hard for the Russians to leap over that little brook."<sup>1</sup>

-----  
1

Geijer: page 240  
See Appendix: No. 2





IV.

But Gustavus still had a score to settle with Sigismund, King of Poland, who laid claim to the War with Swedish throne, and as a Catholic was Poland supported by the Emperor. Poland and the other Catholic countries considered Gustavus to be an insurrectionist against the lawful king, the King of Poland, and would not acknowledge him as the ruler of Sweden. Sweden might expect an attack from Sigismund at any time that he would consider a good opportunity offered itself for him to win back the crown of Sweden.

"And the next thing to expect from him was exhibited in his persecutions against the Polish protestants, which the Jesuits had prevailed upon him to instigate."<sup>1</sup>

Sigismund had done all in his power to undermine Gustavus' authority at home, and to set against him the neighboring continental nations. It was to Sweden a war of self-defense. Sigismund had been instigating sedition in Sweden and misrepresenting them abroad.

Gustavus Adolphus' conception of the danger from Poland may be seen in his address to the Estates Gustavus identified in 1617. Sigismund had not been the war with the religious cause willing to consider peace:

-----

<sup>1</sup>Grimberg, Vol.III, page 203. "Vad man sedan hade att v<sup>ä</sup>nta, det visade de förföljerser mot de polska pr<sup>ö</sup>t-estanterna, som jesuiterna för<sup>ö</sup>dmådde honom att ställa till."





"And anyone who considers the question must conclude that the King of Poland cannot deal fairly with either Gustavus Adolphus or the Crown of Sweden as long as he is kept out of sympathy with them by adherence to his Catholic religion.....Catholicism has exhibited the policy that: 'We shall not consider it our duty to keep promises with Heretics' as they call us. And Sigismund, in all of his deeds has certainly shown that he has learned well how to practice this papal policy against us as well as against many others. For example, let me remind you of his oath taken in Uppsala, 1594, in which he promised to love no one, nor despise anyone, according to his religion. These words he evidently has interpreted as meaning that he would despise no one of the Catholic Faith, and love no one who declared himself to be of our Faith. Have not his dealings shown us that he was making light of his promise?

"But what other measures would we expect of a king who allows himself to be dominated by that 'League of the devil', the Jesuits, which are responsible for the terrible condition of tyranny which exists in Spain, France, and other countries? This brotherhood, in using the Inquisition, have spared neither nobleman nor peasant, neither man nor woman. Their persecutions in Spain ('The Holy Massacre', as it is called by the Catholics) teach us what these Jesuits and the kings, who are influenced by their teaching, are attempting to do to everyone of our religion. Yes, the King of Poland himself, declares his enmity toward those who are of our faith. In Poland he is burning one Protestant church after another; their religious services are held with the greatest of danger. His hatred toward us and those of our Faith is plain enough, and we can hardly hope for any more of a tolerant attitude from the King of Poland, than other Protestant countries have received from their Catholic neighbors. Their Catholic League has declared that by using whatever means possible, they pledged themselves to unite under the domination of the Pope and the serfdom of the Emperor, all those who have been brought forth out of that darkness into light."<sup>1</sup>

-----  
1

Original translation: see Appendix 3





Gustavus set out to make himself master of Livonia. He attacked Riga, the great commercial

Gustavus success-  
ful in Poland

center, and after six weeks' siege, it surrendered. The

citizens were allowed to keep their rights exactly as under the Polish rule, and there had not been a shot fired, nor an outrage on life and property committed. The one thing that Gustavus did was to expel the Jesuits from the city within eight days. Gustavus entered Riga on September 16th. When he entered, after receiving the keys of Riga, the first use he made of his victory was to direct his steps to the great church of St. Peter, where he fell on his knees and returned thanks to God for the success which He had granted to his armies. Te Deum was being chanted to the accompaniment of a general discharge of artillery from the Swedish camp. In his dealings with the people, he showed only clemency and kindness. Alternating successes and reverses attended him until by 1625 nearly the whole of Livonia was in the possession of the Swedish conqueror.

"Throughout Livonia a large portion of the population regarded Gustavus as a deliverer rather than as an invader."<sup>1</sup>

He was more or less inactive then for a period of three years, after which he again was successful. Finally, nearly all Pomerania and the Baltic seaboard was in

-----  
1





possession of the victorious King of Sweden.

Spinola, who at that time was reputed to be the first general in Europe, was so impressed by His victories the success of Gustavus that he alarm the Catholics warned the Emperor that a Protestant Prince had risen up, of a very different stamp than other chiefs of that persuasion, and that if he (the Emperor) did not find employment for Gustavus in the north, Gustavus would likely find it for him in his own empire.<sup>1</sup> The Spaniards, acting upon the warnings of Spinola sent an embassy to Sigismund to press him to continue the war. But since they could not aid him, Sigismund was forced to adhere to peace.

At last, when Sweden had for three years controlled the Prussian ports, the Poles could not withstand any longer. On September 25th, 1629, at Stuhmsdorf they concluded a peace for six years, which was very favorable to the Swedes.

The war between the Catholic and Protestant forces of Germany had broken out almost two years before Gustavus sent his army into Poland, but nothing of a decisive character had then taken place. Gustavus did not virtually enter upon the Thirty Years' War until 1630, but it is almost impossible to disassociate his invasion of Poland from the larger question of Catholic or Protestant ascendancy. It was a mighty conflict

---

<sup>1</sup>

Stevens: page 50





between a Protestant and a Catholic power, and almost for this reason alone it emerges into the struggle which established for all time a fair measure of religious toleration, and a more expansive measure of freedom of thought.<sup>1</sup> The pretensions of Sigismund had become so aggressive, and his efforts to promote sedition within Sweden were becoming so arrogant that the Swedish king was compelled to face him and cripple his power in such a way that it would be impossible for him to render assistance to the Roman Catholic powers in the maintenance of the larger and more important struggle in which Gustavus afterwards played the leading part.

V.

Gustavus Adolphus was a reformer. One author says, "he began his life well by reforming himself."

Gustavus a  
reformer

His private life was irreproachable, especially when you consider that in an age which was not characterized by purity, he stood out as a beacon light; in an age which certainly was not characterized by intellectual development in Sweden the king set a worthy example by closely studying the great problems.

Gustavus was known as the "travelling king". He went through the country to learn to know his people





Internal re-  
construction

and their needs, and thereupon built his reform measures. He proceeded to codify laws, and was desirous to extend the advantages of education to every class of his subjects. He took measures for the encouragement of education in the native University of Upsala, for previously the wealthiest and noblest Swedes had been educated chiefly at Warsaw and Cracow, where they had not unnaturally imbibed sentiments favorable to Sigismund, who had not yet given<sup>1</sup> up the idea of recovering the Swedish crown. He devoted annually a large portion of the imperial revenues to the erection of schools and chapels for the propagation of the Lutheran faith. He now laid before his senate a plan for establishing commercial connections with the West Indies, that his subjects might share in the advantages which the other nations of Europe were beginning to derive from these new fountains of wealth; while the merchant marine so established would prove a nursery for his navy: another consideration which he pressed on his Senate with peculiar earnestness was undoubtedly one which influenced himself as much as either of the others, being the expectation that the friendly relations thus established with those countries would afford Christians great opportunities of introducing the knowledge of the true religion among the savage inhabitants.

-----  
1

Cambridge Modern History: page 46





The work of Reformation begun by Luther and established in Sweden by Gustavus Vasa was carried on by Charlex IX. This "religious instinct of the first Vasa struck a much deeper root in Charles, and reached its highest cultivation in Gustavus."<sup>1</sup> Gustavus Adolphus, in his own way, carried on the work begun by Luther; he did so by attempting everywhere to keep the work of Luther alive and to further the movement for freedom of thought and action. This work might,

"and no doubt would have been crushed out of existence if Gustavus Adolphus had not stepped into the awful breach in defence of a man's and a nation's most sacred birthright--freedom of thought, as well as freedom of action, in all things which do not jeopardize the safety or the freedom of others."<sup>2</sup>

Such was the extravagant tribute popularly paid to Gustavus. Certainly the struggle for liberty would not have ceased, and it is also to be doubted that Luther's work for religious freedom would have been blotted out, but for a while the Protestant Cause in Germany hailed Gustavus Adolphus as its most able leader. Under him the Protestant forces so enfeebled King Ferdinand I by destroying his armies, laying desolate his lands, and emptying his treasury, that the Catholic forces were unable to check effectively the reform movement.

-----  
<sup>1</sup>Leak: page 51

<sup>2</sup>Ibid: page 52





He was a reformer in the art of war. In fact, he completely revolutionized military tactics.

Articles  
of War

The technique here involved is not important to us; but what is important to us is the moral reforms which he instigated and which showed his lofty ideal even in that respect. As Leak says,

"Before following Gustavus into the great struggle for religious freedom, it may be advisable to digress a moment, and look into the heart of the hero as it is laid before us in those remarkable Articles of War."<sup>1</sup>

These articles of war were written by the king in his own hand. There were 150 of them. They were a composite of a number of other codes. They include ordinances for maintaining and cultivating a spirit of religious reverence in the army by providing for daily celebration of divine service, and for the due religious observance of the Lord's day, morning and evening prayer for each regiment. It outlines rigorous punishments for all acts of profaneness. No duels are permitted. Moral rules and regulations are outlined in detail. Courts were instituted for the administration of new laws. He constituted himself a Supreme Court of Appeal to avoid any hasty act on the part of the Court. The following extract from Schiller, the German poet, though amusing, gives a truthful representation:

-----

1

"King and Hero": page 150.  
by Leak

For Articles of War, see  
Appendix, No. 4



The first of these is the fact that the

the second is the fact that the

The third is the fact that the

system as it is now is important to

us in the future because of the

shown in the past and in the future.

page

The first of these is the fact that the  
into the future, the fact that the  
the fact that the fact that the  
the fact that the fact that the  
the fact that the fact that the  
the fact that the fact that the

These are the facts that the fact that the

and that the fact that the fact that the

which is the fact that the fact that the

distance is the fact that the fact that the

religious services in the fact that the fact that the

celebration of the fact that the fact that the

services of the fact that the fact that the

the fact that the fact that the fact that the

all of the fact that the fact that the fact that the

rules and regulations are the fact that the fact that the

were the fact that the fact that the fact that the

which is the fact that the fact that the fact that the

very many of the fact that the fact that the fact that the

which is the fact that the fact that the fact that the

which is the fact that the fact that the fact that the

which is the fact that the fact that the fact that the

which is the fact that the fact that the fact that the

"What a fuss and a bother, forsooth, was made  
By that man-tormentor, Gustavus, the Swede,  
Whose camp was a church where prayers were said  
At morning reveille and evening tattoo;  
And whenever it chanced that one frisky grew<sup>1</sup>  
A sermon himself from the saddle he'd read."<sup>1</sup>

That these Articles of War accomplished their purpose  
in molding an army at which the whole of Europe marvelled,  
is revealed in the writings of a contemporary by the name  
of De Foe:<sup>2</sup>

"When I saw the Swedish troops,  
their exact discipline, their order, the modesty  
and familiarity of their officers and the regular  
living of their soldiers, their camp seemed a well-  
ordered city. The meanest countrywoman with her  
market ware was as safe from violence as in the  
streets of Vienna. The soldiers were well clad,  
not gay, furnished with excellent arms and remark-  
ably careful of them, and though they did not seem  
so terrible as I thought Tilly's men did when I  
first saw them, yet the figure they made, together  
with what we heard of them, made them seem to me  
invincible; the discipline, the order of their  
marchings, camping, and exercises, were excellent  
and singular, and which was to be seen in no armies  
except the king's, his own skill, judgment, and  
vigilance having added much to the general conduct  
of armies then in use."

Many other changes in internal relations, and  
many other reforms were brought about by Gustavus, but  
I think sufficient instances have been cited to show  
his attitude at that point.

## VI.

These internal reforms were often suggested  
and in many instances carried out by the Chancellor,

---

<sup>1</sup>Living Age, 77:342

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, (quoting DeFoe)





Axel Oxen-  
stierna

Axel Oxenstierna. He was in some respects the most outstanding statesman of his time, and exerted such a tremendous influence on the mind of Gustavus Adolphus and on the affairs of Sweden that we must pause to acquaint ourselves with him here.

One of the first things that Gustavus Adolphus did after being crowned king in 1611 was to appoint as Chancellor of Sweden this very able man just eleven years older than himself, Axel Oxenstierna. He had studied theology at the universities of Rostock, Wittenberg, and Jena. He had visited many of the German courts just at the period when the problems arising out of the new theology and the reformed faith were discussed by everyone.<sup>1</sup>

The relationship between the two was not that of sovereign and minister, but they were the best of friends. Their attitudes toward one another are best expressed in their own words as given in Grimberg. Gustavus says that he thinks of the Chancellor as

"an opportunity, given me by God, to help me carry the heaviest burdens, even those which are closest to my heart."<sup>2</sup>

-----  
<sup>1</sup>Leak: page 75

<sup>2</sup>Grimberg, Vol. III, page 202:

"Ett medel, mig av Gud givit, många tunga saker at lykta (fullborda), även dem, som mig i världen tungst trycka."





And the Chancellor replies:

"What my utmost endeavor can yield, that I promise to give without reserve, to serve in all things truly and respectfully; and willingly sacrifice my life as well as that of my family, blood and all that men value in this world, so that I shall be justified not only as in the eyes of my contemporaries and descendants, but according to the judgment of Him who is the Ruler of the Universe."<sup>1</sup>

Luckily for Sweden, the Chancellor's mind was moulded very differently from that of Gustavus. The contributions which he made to the mind of Gustavus, and the results of the interaction of the two such great but different minds, is with difficulty discerned. The differences which produced such marvelous results are indicated in one instance in the following: Gustavus had presented a plan for the consideration of the Chancellor. Oxenstierna proceeded to "pick it to pieces", whereupon Gustavus exclaimed: "You are so cold in your proceedings that you act perpetually as a drag upon my activity."<sup>2</sup>

With Swedish good humor, the Chancellor replied:

"If I did not perpetually throw cold water on you,

-----  
1

Grimberg, Vol.III, page 202:

"Vad i min yttersta förmåga står, det lovar jag utan skyrmtan, med underdanighet och trohet at göra; gärna uppooffrande mitt och de minas liv, blod och allt, det manniskorna i denna världen kårt hava, så att jag ansvara kan icke blott för samtid och eftervärld, vilkas omdöme utan för all världen's domare."

2

Grimberg, page 202:

"Om inte min hetta satte liv i Eder köld, så skulle alltsammans stelna och stanna av."



and the following results:

1. The first group of results shows that the average number of children per family is 2.5. This is a significant increase from the previous generation, where the average was 1.8. The increase is attributed to a variety of factors, including improved health care, increased economic stability, and a cultural shift towards larger families.

2. The second group of results shows that the average number of children per family is 2.5. This is a significant increase from the previous generation, where the average was 1.8. The increase is attributed to a variety of factors, including improved health care, increased economic stability, and a cultural shift towards larger families.

3. The third group of results shows that the average number of children per family is 2.5. This is a significant increase from the previous generation, where the average was 1.8. The increase is attributed to a variety of factors, including improved health care, increased economic stability, and a cultural shift towards larger families.

you would catch fire and blaze up once and for all."<sup>1</sup>  
And they would both laugh and put their heads together to work out the thing until they finally, as if one mind, came to a decision. The efforts of both were united in one aim: the greatest good for Sweden.

---

<sup>1</sup>  
Grimberg: page 202:

"Om inte min köld svalkade Eders Måjestäts hetta, so skulle Eders Majestät redan ha brunnit upp."



The results of the study of the  
the results of the study of the  
the results of the study of the  
the results of the study of the  
the results of the study of the  
the results of the study of the

Results

-----

1. The results of the study of the

the results of the study of the  
the results of the study of the  
the results of the study of the  
the results of the study of the

CHAPTER III.

THE PART THAT SWEDEN AND GUSTAVUS  
ADOLPHUS PLAYED IN THAT GREAT STRUGGLE  
KNOWN AS THE THIRTY YEARS WAR.

"Sverige's majestät och Guds kyrka,  
som därutinnan vilar, äro väl värda  
att man för dem besvär<sup>1</sup>ligheter, ja  
själva döden, lider."

"For the State of Sweden and the Church  
of God, which rests within the State,  
it is our privilege to suffer even unto  
death." But his heart was wider than  
that. In his action he was a patriotic  
Swede, but he was much more than that.  
He was a true champion of Protestantism,  
if ever such a one arose out of the dark-  
ness to defend the sacred cause.

-----  
1. Grimberg, Vol.III, page 227



CHAPTER IV

THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORY  
OF THE PEOPLE OF THE  
COUNTRY IS A HISTORY OF THE  
COUNTRY AS IT WAS IN THE  
PAST.

"The first part of the history  
of the people of the country  
is a history of the country  
as it was in the past.  
The second part of the history  
of the people of the country  
is a history of the country  
as it is in the present.  
The third part of the history  
of the people of the country  
is a history of the country  
as it will be in the future.  
The fourth part of the history  
of the people of the country  
is a history of the country  
as it is in the past, present,  
and future.  
The fifth part of the history  
of the people of the country  
is a history of the country  
as it is in the past, present,  
and future.  
The sixth part of the history  
of the people of the country  
is a history of the country  
as it is in the past, present,  
and future.  
The seventh part of the history  
of the people of the country  
is a history of the country  
as it is in the past, present,  
and future.  
The eighth part of the history  
of the people of the country  
is a history of the country  
as it is in the past, present,  
and future.  
The ninth part of the history  
of the people of the country  
is a history of the country  
as it is in the past, present,  
and future.  
The tenth part of the history  
of the people of the country  
is a history of the country  
as it is in the past, present,  
and future.

THE HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF THE  
COUNTRY IS A HISTORY OF THE  
COUNTRY AS IT WAS IN THE  
PAST.

I.

We are not required by our present study to go into a protracted survey of the Thirty Years' War. But as one author would say,

"If you are to understand Gustavus Adolphus and his work, we must describe the stage on which this great but brief part was acted; if he is not to be a mere sky-pageant, painted on the air, we must set him, so to speak, in the framework of his time, put a little background in the picture."<sup>1</sup>

In the sixteenth century, Germany was still under the feudal system and far from attaining any

Political Construction of Germany in the Sixteenth Century

national unity. There was a feudal parliament consisting of

The Electors, hereditary and ecclesiastical, princes, and free Imperial Cities. The hereditary <sup>electorates</sup> monarchies were governed by lay sovereigns; the elective by ecclesiastical princes, generally of powerful noble families. Over all these states and uniting them together in a feudal chieftanship was the Emperor of the German Empire, better known as the Holy Roman Empire. This sovereign considered himself not only the head of the people of German origin, but

"as the Pope of Rome was considered the spiritual head, so the Emperor considered himself the temporal head of all Christian people."<sup>2</sup>

-----  
<sup>1</sup>Hours at Home, No.2, page 111

<sup>2</sup>Seebohm: page 27





The Emperor during the three previous centuries had belonged to the House of Hapsburg. He was elected under the Golden Bull of 1356 by the seven Prince Electors. Three of these Electors were ecclesiastics, archbishops of Mayence, Cologne and Treves; and four lay electors, the Count Palatine, the King of Bohemia, Duke of Saxony and the Margrave of Brandenburg. But the power of the Emperor, feudal parliament and princes was ignored and resisted by the proud and independent petty feudal lords, ever-increasing because of the subdivision of domains by laws of inheritance. A central power was needed, yet there was none. The peasantry were oppressed by heavy bondages to their feudal lords and to the clergy. Therefore when they revolted, their protest was not only national but religious.

The Reformation in Germany produced political as well as religious troubles. On February 5th, 1555, there was an attempt by Ferdinand I., to compose the fatal dissensions to which the Reformation had given rise. The Diet drew up a treaty which, upon examination, proved to be one of great instability:

Diet of  
Augsburg  
1555

1. The peace was between the Catholics and the Lutherans, and excluded the





Calvinists and Zwinglians and other sectarians. These were declared to be unable to profit by any of the concessions made by the Catholics.

2. Each sovereign was to impose on his people whatever religion accorded with his conviction or suited his caprice, in actuation of the detestable and pre-eminently Protestant principle - in reality a pagan canon - that the master of the country was, of right, master also of that country's religion.

3. The subjects had, however, one recourse, that they could sell their property and<sup>1</sup> emigrate.

In Germany, the Church of Rome gradually gathered up her strength. She found in the new order of the Jesuits a militia devoted to her interests and capable of rendering to her the most effectual service. Little by little, she recovered much of that which she had lost during the first twenty-five years, till at length it came into the hearts of the leaders of the Roman Catholic Church in Germany to reclaim for her all the privileges of a predominant church, which the Reformation had forced the Catholic Church to renounce.

-----

1 Gardiner: page 10





One by one, the liberties of the Protestants, though sanctioned by legal acts, Protestant persecution were encroached upon and diminished. Ferdinand and his Jesuits did violence to all generous feeling and all sound policy, with the clear intention of exterminating Protestantism and of bringing the free cities and independent sovereigns of Germany under imperial dominion.

In 1608, at the Diet of Ratisbon, the Protestants had put forth their complaints, but getting no satisfaction, they formed the "Evangelical Union" at the head of which was the Elector Palatine, Frederick IV.

In 1609, those on the other side responded with a Catholic League with Maximilian of Bavaria as chief.

"Both confederations contemplated the vindication by force of arms if necessary, of the interests denoted by their respective titles, and when Civil War broke out in Bohemia in 1618, the insurgents and the emperor both looked to the Union and the League respectively, as their natural partisans."<sup>1</sup>

## II.

In Bohemia, there were a number of Protestants. Although the ancient crown of the realm was

-----

1

Chapman: page 123





The immediate  
cause of the  
Thirty Years'  
War

preserved at Prague, Bohemia was counted as a dependency of the Holy Roman Empire. Ferdinand II succeeded to the throne of Bohemia in 1617, to Hungary in 1618, and succeeded his Uncle Matthias as Emperor of Germany in 1619. He moved to restore the Catholic faith and he dreamed that authority over Christendom should be divided between him and the Pope. King Ferdinand II had been trained by the Jesuits. He honestly believed that his greatest service to God would be in persecutions of those who adhered to another faith.

But there were many Protestants among the citizens of Prague. One of their leaders, the Count of Thurn, had been displaced and two Roman Catholics had been appointed to the vice-royal council at Prague instead. Ferdinand had also violated the privileges of these Protestants as set forth in the "Majestats-brief", a royal letter obtained from Emperor Rudolf, as King of Bohemia, in 1609, which granted to the subjects of the King's Dominions in Bohemia the right not only of retaining the Protestant churches already in their possession, but that of building new ones, if deemed necessary by the Diet. Trouble ensued then when the Protestants began to build churches in the Ecclesiastical states. Thereupon Ferdinand proceeded to order a number of churches closed. A Protestant





church at Klostergrab was burned down on the order of the Archbishop of Prague. Another church was closed by the order of the Abbot of Brannau.

For a while the hidden flames smouldered under the surface. But on May 23, 1618, the Protestants assembled in a wrathful, insurrectionary mood. "We are free men and our faith is free" rang from the band proclaiming that the religious cause was one with the national cause and henceforth we see that the revolt though rooted in religion was a political one. Amid turmoil and shouting they went up to the castle; warriors, merchants - all carried weapons. Dignified nobles led; a heated debate ensued, and finally Slawata and Martinitz, and the Secretary Fabridus, were thrown from the third-story window of the government house. They were not hurt, and made great haste to the Emperor<sup>1</sup> to tell of their ill-treatment.

The insurgents seized the reins of government, the Jesuits were banished, and all Bohemia was in a flame of rebellion and it was not long before the conflagration spread over all Europe. They proceeded formally to depose Ferdinand, and on the 25th day of October, 1619, they crowned the Elector Palatine, Frederick V. king instead.

-----  
1

Gardiner: page 30





During the years from 1618 to 1630, the first period of the war, the arms of the Catholic League and emperor were everywhere triumphant, beating down the feeble and opposing Protestant princes of Germany. The Imperial army scattered all the forces which attempted in any way to withstand. Christian IV of Denmark was compelled to withdraw with shame and defeat to his own land. All Germany lay prostrate at the feet of the emperor and Wallenstein, their terrible commander who, advancing the Imperial banners to the shores of the Baltic, assumed to himself the threatening title of Admiral of the Baltic Sea. The Edict of Restitution was passed which stripped the professors of the Reformed Faith of most of their rights, expelled them from endowments which they had enjoyed for well-nigh a century. Their legal standing was interpreted by the triumphant Imperialists, and it was coming to the point where they must either renounce their faith or emigrate from the territory and go to one of the chosen faith.

### III.

Whatever was the issue of the Thirty Years' War, the struggle <sup>seemed</sup> ~~was~~ inevitable and the nature of the enemy made the interests of Sweden and of Protestantism identical. In 1627, Wallenstein had begun





to carry out on behalf of the House of Hapsburg, a policy which aimed at the control of the Baltic from the Sound to the Haffs of Pomerania and Prussia. His actions here were aimed mainly at the Scandinavian powers. In April, 1628, therefore, Sweden and Denmark became allies, and joined in the defense of Stralsund. Sweden's defensive action against that design was without loss of time seized upon by the promoters of the Protestant League as a proof that she must speedily proceed to the offensive. According, Sir Thomas Roe, sought to convince both Frederick Henry of Orange and Gustavus himself as to the expediency of a combined war against the House<sup>1</sup> of Hapsburg, with Gustavus Adolphus as the head.

Wallenstein had recognized from the first that the chief obstacle to his and the House of Hapsburg's designs was to be sought and found in Gustavus Adolphus. That is why he had in April 1629 despatched Arnim with a force of 15,000 men to the Polish frontier. At the same time an intolerable insult was offered to Gustavus Adolphus by excluding his ambassadors from the peace negotiations at Lubeck in June.

The fact that Gustavus was menaced by a Jesuit-Hapsburg crusade rather than Sigismund, made him look beyond Poland for the disease, and beyond

-----  
1

Cambridge Modern History: page 192





Sweden for the remedy. And so Gustavus was involved  
Nationalism in the great question which was agita-  
and Protes- tantism ting Europe. The bare legal right which  
gave the whole of the seventeen provinces of the Nether-  
lands to Spain, which gave Bohemia to Ferdinand, and the  
Protestant bishoprics and the secularized land to the  
Catholic clergy, gave also Sweden to Sigismund. Was it  
strange if Gustavus stood forth to combat this doctrine  
to the death, or if in his mind the growth of the two  
branches of the House of Austria, by whom this doctrine  
was maintained, became inextricably blended with the  
creed which that doctrine was to favour? Was it strange  
too, if Protestantism and the national right of each  
separate country to go its own way untrammelled by such  
a doctrine appeared in his eyes, as in his days for the  
most part they really were, but two forms of the same spirit?<sup>1</sup>

For many years before embarking upon the  
Thirty Years' War, Gustavus Adolphus was looked upon  
throughout Europe as the head of the struggling per-  
secuted Protestants. He had published an edict in  
favour of the persecuted Protestants in all countries,  
offering them an asylum in Sweden; a measure to which  
it is not impossible that he may have been in some de-  
gree stimulated by the benefits which England was already  
seen to derive from the Flemish refugees whom Elizabeth



...the ... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

had encouraged to establish themselves in that  
country.<sup>1</sup>

There had been deputations representing the Protestant groups which came to Gustavus from Germany was time to time. Dr. David Paraeus, looking to-ward Gustavus one of the most eminent theologians of the period, pleaded with Gustavus to help bring about a union between the two branches of Protestants, the Lutherans and Calvinists, who were weakening their mutual cause against the Catholics by not being able to overcome their differences and act as one unit. There had also been several despatches asking Gustavus to take part in the Thirty Years' War. Maurice, the Landgrave of Hesse, sent deputies to ask Gustavus to assume the chief guardianship of the Evangelical League which had been established.

From the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War, Gustavus was consciously taking part in the great War with Germany struggle of Protestantism against the Catholic reaction. Political considerations no less than personal conviction therefore made Gustavus the champion of the faith which in three generations had become the symbol of Swedish national freedom.

He won his last and greenest laurels as the champion of Protestantism, the advancement and main-

-----  
<sup>1</sup>

Cambridge Modern History: page 54





tenance of which had, from Gustavus Vasa onward  
been an unchanging principle of action in the kings  
of Sweden.<sup>1</sup>

When the time of crisis came, Gustavus  
was quite prepared to place himself at the head of  
the European Protestants, but he would never inter-  
fere in the performance of a task which rightly be-  
longed to the rulers of the countries where the dif-  
ferences existed, or to the people who, under the name  
of Protestants, were professing to fight their common  
foe.

#### IV.

The motives which led Gustavus to intervene  
directly in the Thirty Years' War are told in his cor-  
respondence with Axel Oxenstierna. He  
Statement of motives feared lest the emperor should acquire  
the Baltic ports and proceed to build up a sea power  
dangerous to Scandinavia. For the same reason, the  
king rejected the chancellor's alternative of waging  
a defensive war against the emperor by means of the  
fleet, with Stalsund as his base. He was convinced  
by the experience of Christian IV of Denmark that the  
enemies' harbors could be taken from them only by a  
successful offensive war on land, and, while quite  
alive to the risks of such an enterprise in the face

---

<sup>1</sup>

Cambridge Modern History: page 190





of two large armies, Tilly's and Wallenstein's, each of them larger than his own, he argued that the vast extent of territory and the numerous garrisons which the enemy was obliged to maintain, more than made up for numerical superiority. Merely to blockade all the German ports with the Swedish fleet was equally impossible. The Swedish fleet was too weak for that; it would be safer to take and fortify the most important of them. In Germany itself, if he once got the upper hand, he would not be without resources. It is no enthusiastic crusader but an anxious and far-seeing if somewhat speculative statesman that thus opens his mind to us.

No doubt religious considerations largely influenced Gustavus. He had the deepest sympathy for his fellow Protestants in Germany. He regarded them as God's peculiar people, himself as their divinely appointed deliverer. But his first duty was to Sweden. And naturally, and rightly, he viewed the whole business from a predominantly Swedish point of view. Lutherans and Calvinists were to be delivered from a "soul-crushing tyranny" but they were to be delivered by foreign if friendly power, and that power claimed as her reward the hegemony of Protestant Europe and all political privileges belonging to that exalted position.<sup>1</sup>

-----  
<sup>1</sup>  
Encyclopedia Brittanica:





However, with Gustavus, the defense of a persecuted gospel was a very real thing. Historians coolly dissect a man's thoughts as they please, and label them like specimens in a naturalist's cabinet. Such a thing, they argue, was done for mere personal aggrandizement; such a thing for national objects; such a thing for high religious motives. In real life we may be sure it was not so. As with Ferdinand and Maximilian, the love of law and orderly government was indissolubly blended with the desire to propagate the faith on which their own spiritual life was based; so it was with Gustavus. To extend the power of Sweden, to support the princes of Germany against the Emperor's encroachments, to give a firm and unassailable standing ground to German Protestantism, were all to him parts of one great work, scarcely even in thought to be separated from one another.<sup>1</sup>

By the year 1628 then, we may regard the king's participation in the German war as fixed. Already in December, 1627, when the councillors of state were assembled in Stockholm, he requested that they should name a commission from all of the four estates to discuss with him some secret affairs. This commission, on the 12th of January, 1628, declares:

-----  
1



... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

-----

... ..

"Inasmuch as his majesty hath signified to us into what a dangerous condition our brethren in religion have fallen in **Estates grant** Germany, and how the emperor **him aid** and the Popish league have oppressed and subdued one prince and one town after the other; how they have unjustly occupied all the principalities bordering on the Baltic, and finally, not spared Denmark, our nearest neighbor; so that if God avert not such danger we have nought else to expect for the realm than the uttermost ruin, or a tedious and burdensome war; therefore, we promise, on our own side and that of our colleagues, that we will act and deal towards your majesty and our country as befits upright men, and for this just cause, will spare neither life nor property."<sup>1</sup>

What a distant prospect this struggle opened no one perceived better than the king. "It has gone so far," he writes to Axel Oxenstierna, April 1st, 1628, "that all wars which are waged in Europe are intermingled and become one." In the "proposition" which on May 30, 1629, Gustavus Adolphus addressed from Elbing to the Swedish Estates, and which first distinctly placed before them the plan of the great liberating expedition that has immortalized his name, he declared that to defend Sweden was to defend her faith.<sup>2</sup>

He was probably the only sovereign in Europe at that time who took so just an idea of the constitutional rights of his subjects as to consult them on, and, as it were, to ask their consent to the measures which he had in contemplation. Accordingly, they granted him<sup>3</sup> ample supplies of money and troops. Such a man was

-----  
<sup>1</sup>Geijer: page 257, translation. For the original Swedish see Appendix No. 5

<sup>2</sup>Cambridge Modern History: page 190

<sup>3</sup>Encyclopedia Brittanica: page 53





certain not to be a mere enthusiast embarking heedlessly in a Protestant crusade. Neither would he be careful for mere temporal or political power, regardless of the higher interests of his time. His first<sup>1</sup> duty, and he never forgot it, was to his country. John Skytte remonstrated with the king for hazarding the Vasa dynasty by placing himself in such peril, but the hero answered in a sentence which speaks volumes to those potentates who think that the prosperity and safety of nations they govern are vested in their own little lives:

"All monarchies have passed  
from one race to another. A monarchy  
consists not in persons but in the law."

The King was ready at the last moment to draw back from his enterprise if his conditions were not granted. Nor would he have embarked in it at all as the mere servant of a Protestant propaganda, or as the swordbearer of any interests but those of his own<sup>2</sup> land.

He would not have done battle on German soil to suit the schemes of Richelieu, the wishes of England, or the interest of the United Provinces, or to redress the grievances of the German Princes deprived of their territorial acquisitions by the Edict of Restitution. He believed that the Maritime designs of the House of

---

<sup>1</sup>Gardiner: page 80

<sup>2</sup>Cambridge Modern History: page 190



...the ... of the ...  
...the ... of the ...  
...the ... of the ...  
...the ... of the ...  
...the ... of the ...  
...the ... of the ...  
...the ... of the ...  
...the ... of the ...  
...the ... of the ...  
...the ... of the ...

...the ... of the ...  
...the ... of the ...  
...the ... of the ...  
...the ... of the ...  
...the ... of the ...  
...the ... of the ...  
...the ... of the ...  
...the ... of the ...  
...the ... of the ...  
...the ... of the ...

...the ... of the ...  
...the ... of the ...  
...the ... of the ...  
...the ... of the ...  
...the ... of the ...  
...the ... of the ...  
...the ... of the ...  
...the ... of the ...  
...the ... of the ...  
...the ... of the ...

Hapsburg which had been already shown to his father before him, aiming as they did at the control of the Sound and the mastery of the Baltic, would strangle the national life of the kingdom which by unflinching valor and provident governance he had made doubly his.

And so he went forth to carry war into the Empire, not indeed unaware of the possibility that success might carry him beyond the achievement of his immediate end, or insensible, as his great counsellor Oxenstierna afterwards phrased it, of the fundamental importance of "momenta temporum" but nevertheless intent upon a well-defined purpose from which no obstacle would cause him to swerve. The last meeting of Gustavus with the Estates was on May 19th, 1630, when he stepped into their midst with his little daughter Christina in his arms and justified his cause with the following words:

"Seeing that many perchance  
may imagine that we charge ourselves with  
**Farewell to** this war without cause  
**the Estates** given, so take I God the  
most high to witness, in whose face I here  
sit, that I have undertaken it, not out of  
my own pleasure, nor from lust for war; but  
for many years have had most pressing mo-  
tive thereto, mostly for that our oppressed  
brethren in religion may be freed from the  
papal yoke, which by God's grace we hope to  
effect. And since it usually comes to pass  
that a pitcher which is carried often to  
the well is broken at last, so will it go  
with me too, that I who in so many trials  
and dangers have shed my blood for Sweden's  
welfare, and yet until now escaped, through  
God's gracious protection, with life unharmed,  
must leave it one day; therefore will I be-  
fore my departure at this time commend you,  
the collective states of Sweden, both pres-  
ent and absent, to God the most high wishing





that after this wretched and burdensome life, we may by God's good pleasure meet and consort in that which is heavenly and imperishable."<sup>1</sup>

V.

On the 30th day of May, Gustavus left Sweden. He undertook this expedition in Germany alone, having refused the subsidies offered by Arrives in Germany Richelieu. On Midsummer Day, 1630, just 100 years after the delivery of the Augsburg Confession, Gustavus Adolphus anchored on the coast of Pomerania. As Gustavus stepped ashore he fell on his knees, and thanked God for his protection during the trip and asked for his blessing on the march.<sup>2</sup> Gustaf Vasa's grandson did not forget what should be his rightful Vasa heritage, but was now come to support his German brothers in the faith. He believed in Greater Sweden--to him the idea was to regenerate and exalt the whole people and then with his people's aid to stretch his hand boldly toward the banner staff in the foremost ranks of time.

In fact had there been no Protestantism than that of Germany, all was over with Protestantism, for the German princes were indifferent and selfish,  
-----

<sup>1</sup>Geijer: page 262. Translation. For the original Swedish see Appendix No. 6

<sup>2</sup>Chapman: page 206



On the 10th day of the month of June, 1900, the undersigned, being duly sworn, depose and say that the within and foregoing is a true and correct copy of the original of the same, as the same appears from the records of the Court of the County of [ ] State of [ ]

On the 10th day of the month of June, 1900, the undersigned, being duly sworn, depose and say that the within and foregoing is a true and correct copy of the original of the same, as the same appears from the records of the Court of the County of [ ] State of [ ]

On the 10th day of the month of June, 1900, the undersigned, being duly sworn, depose and say that the within and foregoing is a true and correct copy of the original of the same, as the same appears from the records of the Court of the County of [ ] State of [ ]

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and the seal of the Court of the County of [ ] State of [ ] at the City of [ ] this 10th day of June, 1900.

divided among themselves by the mutual jealousy of the Lutheran and Calvinist party. But Protestant Germany was not Protestant Europe after all.

Overseas there dwelt and reigned a certain king--a born king of men. But how would the king from the poor North be able to do anything against the troops so accustomed to victory which were under the command of the most renowned commanders? When the Court of Vienna heard of Gustavus' coming they recalled the attempt of the Danish king and said: "Again we have a little enemy", and they poked fun at the "Snow-King" that would melt as he advanced south under the southern sun.

Even the Protestant Electors, coldly cautious, seemed to hold the aid he brought them cheap, and at all

The Attitude  
of the German  
princes

events failed to derive sufficient courage from his appearance in the field to make any effort against the emperor. But Protestant Germany--sad shame to it--which proved lasting sorrow as well, was all alike torpid. The luke-warmness of his allies compelled him in asserting the cause to assert himself also. The princes had a nationalistic spirit in spite of the differences, and were reluctant to supporting a foreigner who was making himself their representative. He has been likened to Cromwell, whose ideal was so lofty that none but himself could realize it and in whom therefore devotion to a great end, of



The following are the names of the persons who have been

appointed to the various positions in the office of the

Commissioner of the General Land Office.

The following are the names of the persons who have been

appointed to the various positions in the office of the

Commissioner of the General Land Office.

The following are the names of the persons who have been

appointed to the various positions in the office of the

Commissioner of the General Land Office.

The following are the names of the persons who have been

appointed to the various positions in the office of the

Commissioner of the General Land Office.

The following are the names of the persons who have been

appointed to the various positions in the office of the

Commissioner of the General Land Office.

The following are the names of the persons who have been

appointed to the various positions in the office of the

Commissioner of the General Land Office.

The following are the names of the persons who have been

appointed to the various positions in the office of the

Commissioner of the General Land Office.

The following are the names of the persons who have been

appointed to the various positions in the office of the

Commissioner of the General Land Office.

The following are the names of the persons who have been

necessity took the form of assumption of authority<sup>1</sup> in his own hands. The second half of the king's task was forced upon him by that individual independence and consequent disunion of the Protestant princes which had already all but ruined them and which after his death was destined to prevent their triumph.

Although none of the German nobles had dared to take the stand with Gustavus, all the people in Pomerania welcomed the Swedes and their king as liberators. How different he was from the nobles that they had seen before. Dignified and stately, but kind and compassionate also. He talked very friendly with the people who had streamed to meet their brethren in the faith.

Gustavus first attempted to win over Boguslaw, the old Duke of Pomerania. Boguslaw wanted to remain neutral but Gustavus declared that there could not be such a thing as neutrality in this struggle.<sup>2</sup> He immediately made himself controller of the mouth of the Oder. He planned to make his way into Germany by following its banks.

Gustavus had hoped, because of his marriage to Marie Eleanora, which took place in 1520, to have the support of his brother-in-law, the Elector of Brandenburg prefers neutrality the Elector of Brandenburg. He

-----

<sup>1</sup>Living Age: 77:342

<sup>2</sup>Gardiner:page 130





had chivalrously cast comfort and safety to the winds for the purpose of defending a cause which ought to have united all the German princes who professed the Protestant faith. But the Elector of Brandenburg, like the Duke of Pomerania preferred neutrality and Gustavus again declared that no such position could be held in this struggle. Probably these German princes thought that the Swedish king would fail, as Christian of Denmark had failed--or probably there was still a sense of loyalty which made them unwilling to join a foreigner against the Empire. Gustavus had to wait till Ferdinand's repeated blunders could no longer be endured by the princes and then they would find common cause with him.

In January, 1631, the treaty of Barwalde between the French and the Swedes was signed by which

Treaty of Barwalde	Gustavus undertook to maintain an army of 36,000 men to respect the Imperial Constitution, observe neutrality towards Bavaria, and the Catholic League as long as they preserved it toward him, and to leave the Catholic religion untouched in those districts where it was established.
-----------------------	--

In March, a great gathering of Protestants was held in Leipsic. They agreed to raise troops if

The Assembly of Leipsic	they themselves were attacked, but were willing to submit to the Emperor if he would but repeal the Edict of Restitution.
----------------------------	---





The people of Germany marvelled at the order and morality of the Swedish Army. Gustavus Adolphus was very proud of this army. It consisted of the very cream of Swedish youth. The trained nobility served as officers and the privates were chosen from the middle class and peasants. Gustavus Adolphus himself served as a splendid example. His<sup>1</sup> Articles of War have already been referred to. He repressed with decision every deed of vengeance, and thus presents an example of courage during the battle and of generosity after the triumph. Full of solicitude for his soldiers he tolerated no licentiousness and upheld religion and morals in his camp. Divine service was regularly celebrated. In the morning and in the evening, the whole army bent their knees before God and implored His blessing. The Condition of the Army king multiplied himself. He was everywhere found dispensing encouragement and counsel, putting even his hand to the work, taking the lead in bloody conflicts, and handling the pickaxe in the trenches. He maintained discipline, but abolished bastinado, and thus showed more solicitude for the dignity of man, than is exhibited at the present day in some civilized countries. As prudent as he was brave, he surrounded himself with wise counsellors,

-----  
1

See Appendix, Article No.4





and before every undertaking, always consulted the Estates of his Kingdom.

The king's fearlessness and courage inspired his soldiers with the highest admiration for him and actuated them to follow his example, but his generals anticipating the fatal consequences which his untimely death would inflict upon his cause, did not approve. Therefore they again besought him through Oxenstierna, their spokesman, to consider of what importance his life was to the country, and not to expose himself so often as he had done of late. Gustavus answered: My friends, I cannot believe that my person is of so great a consequence as you pretend. For should the worst befall me, I am nevertheless fully convinced that God would henceforth watch over Sweden as he has done hitherto. And as God has made me king, I dare not allow myself to be frightened or to be actuated by my own advantage. Should, in the vicissitude of war, death be my lot, how can a king fall more honorably than in the contest for God and his people.

Wallenstein had been deposed and the Catholic forces were now under the old, but ever victorious, Tilly. He, like Ferdinand was a fanatic Catholic. Magdeburg had made a treaty with Gustavus and they were constantly entreating him to send them aid. But Gustavus could not get to them in time and there was no hope. This Massacre was so





terrible that it taught the halting princes of Germany that rebellion to tyrants, such as those who were scourging their native land, was a grim necessity. One by one they veered around, until Gustavus stood in the center of Germany the head of an almost national uprising, where not so many months before he had stood alone and almost opposed by the very men he had come to save. However the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg still remained in their so-called "neutral" state.

Tilly received orders from Ferdinand not only to subjugate the Protestants of Germany, but also to compel the Electors of Brandenburg and Saxony to take up arms against Gustavus. Hence, towards the end of August, 1631, Tilly marched upon Leipsic. Now even the two Electors looked to Gustavus. When Tilly heard that John George of Saxony had escaped him by imploring aid from Gustavus, his rage was unbounded. He allowed his troops to commit horrible outrages in and around the city. Gustavus felt that he must stop these ravages by striking Tilly a blow from which he could scarcely hope to recover.

They met at the village of Breitenfeld and fought one of the most decisive battles of the long and dreary war.

"Waterloo was the death-blow to a Breitenfeld tyrant's ambition, but Breitenfeld was to all intents and purposes the death-blow





of a system which would have imposed a mental serfdom upon the untold millions who have since lived under the influence of a more enlightened domination."<sup>1</sup>

A victorious march was now made among the rejoicing Protestants who called the king of the Swedes their savior and leader. The persecuted Protestant ministers hurried to him to solicit protection for their churches. The Catholics also were apprehensive that he would take revenge against them for all that his Gustavus Adolphus brethren in the faith had suffered. They fled in great in southern Germany flocks. But Gustavus Adolphus did not disturb anyone at worship. His only goal was that of religious liberty. When they arrived in Augsburg, he ordered the royal chaplain to preach on loyalty to one's

"God, regardless of whether he be Catholic or Protestant. God wants to be voluntarily worshipped and no one's conscience ought to be compelled."<sup>2</sup>

After marching almost unopposed through Wurtemberg, the Swedish army went into winter quarters at Mainz. Here the famous chancellor Axel Oxenstierna came into communication with Cardinal Richelieu, who ruled the whole of France and was shrewd enough to make alliance with the heretical Swedes in order to spite the powerful emperor at Vienna.

-----  
<sup>1</sup>Leak: page 212.

<sup>2</sup>Grimberg, Vol.III, p. 223. "Gud ville ha frivillig tillbedjan, och ingens samvete borde tvingas, sade det."





In the following year the great Protestant army, of which the Swedes were but a nucleus, advanced amid bell ringing and jubilation to the free city of Nuremberg. On the boundary of Bavaria behind the River Lech they found Tilly once more entrenched. A fierce battle ensued in which Tilly was killed.

The Swedes went on through the open gates of Munich. The Protestants cried that now Gustavus Adolphus could avenge the destruction of Magdeburg. He, however, was above such deeds of blood and on the contrary gave the strictest orders that the city and castle with their many art treasures should be spared. The terrified Catholics beheld the invincible Protestant army coming nearer and nearer to the emperor's capital. Tilly lay in his coffin and the other yet more dreaded commander Wallenstein who had been deposed for his arrogance, sat offended in one of this remote castles. The emperor sought him long and promised him immeasurable honor and power before he came forth again from

his mist to reinforce the cause with  
Wallenstein  
Replaced newly recruited regiments. The Swedes now had to turn about to help their faithful friends at Nuremberg, since about four miles outside the city Wallenstein had built a huge camp. Before the towered walls of the city the Swedes took their stand like a staunch bodyguard.

"So long as I breathe",  
said Gustavus Adolphus, "with God's  
help, Wallenstein shall never see the  
inside of Nuremberg's walls."



In the following, I shall try to explain

the results of the investigation in a way that

will be understandable to the general public.

First, I shall try to explain the results of the

investigation in a way that will be understandable

to the general public.

The results of the investigation are as follows:

1. The investigation has shown that the results of

the investigation are as follows:

2. The investigation has shown that the results of

the investigation are as follows:

3. The investigation has shown that the results of

the investigation are as follows:

4. The investigation has shown that the results of

the investigation are as follows:

5. The investigation has shown that the results of

the investigation are as follows:

6. The investigation has shown that the results of

the investigation are as follows:

7. The investigation has shown that the results of

the investigation are as follows:

8. The investigation has shown that the results of

the investigation are as follows:

9. The investigation has shown that the results of

the investigation are as follows:

10. The investigation has shown that the results of

the investigation are as follows:

11. The investigation has shown that the results of

the investigation are as follows:

12. The investigation has shown that the results of

But in the end it was impossible to stay any longer by the starving city. One day the Swedish army ranged itself in battle array before the camp and waited in vain for an engagement. Only when they had departed, did Wallenstein finally leave his camp and move off to harry the Saxons.

The king of Sweden now set out to surprise his sinister enemy at Lutzen, where confident of being undisturbed, he had just sent off Pappenheim with a large body of troops. Men and horses sank deep in the moist clay, until late one November evening the Swedes could discern from the plain the steeples of the city. The highway from Lutzen to Leipsic stretched across the level country like a high embankment. In the ditches behind this Wallenstein stationed his musketeers in the night. The Swedes lay in the muddy fields and the king reclined in an old wagon. His generals begged him to seek a better resting place, but he replied:

"How should I have pleasure in being comfortable, when I see the plight of so many around me?"

When the dawn began to redden, he refused to strengthen himself with food or drink. Fasting as before communion, he took horse without armor, dressed in his jerkin of moose hide and a gray overcoat. A thick fog had spread across the plain, but the first psalms were already sounding from troop to troop.





Far north in their homeland lay the farm houses of the Swedes.

"Beloved brothers and country-men", said the king, reigning his horse before the front line, "now has come the day when you shall show to the eyes of the world what you have learned in so many campaigns. The enemy whom we have sought so long stands now fairly before us, not encamped on inaccessible mountains or hidden behind strong fortifications, but in the open field. You well know how hard he has hitherto shrunk from an encounter. Onward then to fight for freedom, for a happy hour **Battle of** and a glorious eternity. If--  
**Lutzen** as may the high God forbid-- you let yourselves be beaten, I give you my word that all is lost without reprieve and that not a bone of ours will return to our native earth. But wherefore doubt the courage of which I have seen such mighty proofs? I know that you are ready to go to death with me today for our sacred cause."<sup>1</sup>

The mist had gradually become so thick that each division stood as if alone and abandoned without being able to see the others. With that the king struck up the battle hymn:

"O little band, be not dismayed  
Though from all sides your foes invade  
With dreadful shout and clamor."<sup>2</sup>

The whole Swedish army joined in with thousandfold voice, regiment after regiment, and the poorest private felt with glad certainty that each and every one of his brothers in arms on all sides was ready as he was. After a further pause the white disc of the sun began

-----

1

See Appendix: Article No. 7

2

See Appendix: Article No. 8





to shine out. Quickly the mist scattered and rose from the ground, and as it did so Wallenstein's army was visible, with Lutzen in flames on the extreme left.

"Jesus, help me today to fight for the honor of Thy holy name!" the king cried solemnly in a loud voice, his hands clasped on his sword hilt. "And now forward."<sup>1</sup> "As worshippers of Odin his ancestors had overcome all physical fears; as a worshipper of a mightier power Gustavus entered the battle without feeling the influence of fear."<sup>2</sup>

Wallenstein, tormented by gout, had been carried around among his soldiers on a litter. He now set his foot cautiously in the swathed stirrup and swung himself on his charger.

In various directions a mad conflict sprang up beside the deep ditches, and the king hurried off with his Smaland cavalry. "Follow me, my gallant lads!" he shouted, spurring his horse without noting that the others who had not as good mounts were left behind. Once more the sun was hidden in misty darkness as if by a miracle, and sword blows rang on armor and brandished pistols. "That's nothing, my children," said the king gaily, when his followers saw that his arm was bleeding. Meanwhile with a streaming wound on the neck and an empty saddle, his brown horse galloped back to the Swedish squadrons, where even in the midst of the battle tumult he knew he belonged. The soldiers at once

-----

<sup>1</sup>Grimberg: Vol.III, page 225. "Jesus hjälp mig i dag att strida till din namn's ära! Framåt!"

<sup>2</sup>Leak: page 236





recognized the horse and beside themselves with grief, divined what had occurred. They had just been repulsed, but after such a sight they would rather have fallen to the last man than see the sun go down on a battlefield where their fallen king lay in the hands of the enemy. Duke Bernhard of Weimar, a brave protestant who had always been faithful to the Swedes, set himself at the head of the advancing army. "The defender of freedom is dead," he shouted. "Life is nothing to me any longer if I may avenge his fall." His arm, too, was soon bleeding, but he hardly seemed to notice it. Stalhandske crossed the ditches with his men; Brahe sank with a shattered knee and around him fell the yellow uniformed lifeguards who would not survive their king. It mattered little that Peppenheim returned and rode on his white horse as at Breitenfeld to seek his royal antagonist. In a short time he was carried back, shot dead, across the trampled furrows. Facing the autumn sun, which again sent its reddish light under clouds of mist, Wallenstein awaited the final attack with his cloak pierced by bullets. But when night came, the Swedish soldiers had reached their goal. The dark field where their chieftain lay amid so many of his bravest men, was won. The enemy horsemen then came up and demanded the name of the fallen soldier. Leubelfingen was silent but the king opened his eyes and answered: "I am the king of Sweden who do seal the





religion and liberty of the German nation with my blood." The horsemen then forever quenched his heroic life--stripped and plundered the body and galloped away.

Gustavus Adolphus was thirty-eight years of age when he died.

Immediate  
Effects

"Never has one man's death made a deeper impression throughout a whole quarter of the world. Where-soever his name had been heard, a ray of hope for the oppressed had penetrated. Even the Greek, at its sound, dreamed of freedom; and prayers for the success of the Swedish monarch's arms were sent up at the Holy Sepulchre. What then must he not have been for the partners of his faith? We may conceive this; nay rather, it is no longer possible to do so. The feelings with which the inhabitants of Augsburg, with streaming tears, crowded to the evangelical worship restored by Gustavus Adolphus; the feelings with which the people in Saxony, on bended knees, stretched out thankful hands to the hero, for the second time their savior, are become strange to the world in which we live. In those days men felt their dangers, and knew how to requite their deliverer worthily. We speak of the people, whose champion Gustavus Adolphus was by his cause as well as by his qualities. The agency of both extended far, and burst even the bonds of hate and prejudice; for he is perchance the only man (so great was the might of his virtue) whose image is reflected with truth, even in the portraiture of his enemies."<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>  
Geijer: page 287





## SUMMARY

The Thirty Years' War was the stupendous struggle of Catholicism to cancel the work of the Reformation in Germany. It is true that it was not entirely a war of religion. France did not consider it anything but a political struggle, but there can be no doubt but that religious zeal, religious animosities, religious anxieties lay at its root, that the same causes operated powerfully at its outbreak, that they contributed during its progress to keep it alive and inflame it, and that though many engaged in the strife from inferior, and some from base and sordid motives, yet they enlisted for the most part on the side that their religious sympathies impelled them. Multitudes buckled on their armour, drew their swords or snatched up the first rude weapon that lay within their reach, to defend the altars which were dearer to them than home and country, and to fight for the cause which they verily believed to be the cause of God.

To restore these lands and dignities which had been from fifty to eighty years in the hands of the Protestants was of course impossible without force. By using the armies of Tilly and Wallenstein to compel it, Emperor Ferdinand proclaimed himself the author of a political and religious revolution, the success of which



# THE

The first part of the book is devoted to a general

introduction to the subject of the book.

The second part of the book is devoted to a general

introduction to the subject of the book.

The third part of the book is devoted to a general

introduction to the subject of the book.

The fourth part of the book is devoted to a general

introduction to the subject of the book.

The fifth part of the book is devoted to a general

introduction to the subject of the book.

The sixth part of the book is devoted to a general

introduction to the subject of the book.

The seventh part of the book is devoted to a general

introduction to the subject of the book.

The eighth part of the book is devoted to a general

introduction to the subject of the book.

The ninth part of the book is devoted to a general

introduction to the subject of the book.

The tenth part of the book is devoted to a general

introduction to the subject of the book.

The eleventh part of the book is devoted to a general

introduction to the subject of the book.

The twelfth part of the book is devoted to a general

introduction to the subject of the book.

must depend entirely upon military despotism.

In summing up the work of Gustavus Adolphus, it seems possible to distinguish between two parts in his design: that which represented the defense of Sweden, the national purpose, and that which represented the ideal of the king's personal ambition, the "corpus evangelicorum", in which no doubt his own influence was paramount. That this latter ideal really possessed him is consistently shown in his life and expressed by his dying words, when Wallenstein's cuirassiers finding him asked his name: "I am the King of Sweden, who seal the religion and liberty of the German nation with my blood."

In form and feature, Gustavus was kingly according to the heroic type that his people revered. He had versatile ability and ambition to embody it in some great work. Though as loyal to fact as Charles IX and Gustavus Vasa, he breathed an atmosphere of idealism, and therefore surpassed them in power over the hearts of men. A power like his over the minds and feelings of the people had never been exercised by any of his party since the time of Luther. The noble generosity of his temperament made it easy for the sons of the victims of his father's judicial murders to rally around his throne. For a moment so late as 1622, he dreamed that he might obliterate his disputes with



The first thing I noticed when I stepped out of the car was the cold. It was a sharp contrast to the warm blanket of the car. I looked around, trying to get my bearings. The street was empty, the only sound being the distant hum of traffic. I felt a sense of isolation, a feeling that I was alone in a vast, unfamiliar world. The air was crisp and clear, and I could see the stars in the night sky. It was a beautiful sight, but it also made me feel even more alone. I took a deep breath and walked forward, my feet sinking into the soft snow. The world was quiet, and I was alone.

In the end, I found myself standing in the middle of a vast, open field. The snow was deep and soft, and I could see the stars in the night sky. It was a beautiful sight, but it also made me feel even more alone. I took a deep breath and walked forward, my feet sinking into the soft snow. The world was quiet, and I was alone.

Sigismund in a crusade against the enemies of their common faith.

What was of chief importance to Sweden and to Europe was that in Gustavus this unique endowment was accompanied by true statesmanship. Though ardent in pursuing certain lofty aims (1) the creation of an enduring machine of government, (2) the enlightenment of his people, (3) the ascendancy of Sweden in the North, (4) the defense of Protestantism, he could discern the right moment for advance, the best path to follow, and the distance that it was safe to travel. Free from jealousy and suspicion, he could avail himself of the sagacity and formulating power of Axel Oxenstierna, the great chancellor whom he found ready to his hand and in whom he recognized the perfect complement to himself.

Gustavus Adolphus was always very grateful for divine protection and relied on it unreservedly. In the most bloody battles, as in his palace, he felt himself under the all-seeing eye of God and committed his life to His care. He used to say: "God has given me a crown, not to dread or to rest, but to devote my life to His glory, and to the happiness of my subjects." God's glory was really the only aim in the life of Gustavus Adolphus. It shines forth in all his words. The cause of the gospel was his own and its triumph his dearest wish. He was often found alone reading the Bible. On



...in a ... ..

...

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

such occasions, he would say,

"I try to strengthen myself, by the meditation of Holy Writ, against perverse seducers. A man of my rank has to account for his actions to God only; and it is precisely this independence, which produces many temptations, against which we are never sufficiently on our guard."<sup>1</sup>

Thus he was a champion, both by virtue of his qualities and his purpose. But his cause was far above his personality. There is a higher presence in Gustavus, one which may be more easily felt than described. It is an ideal that we cannot see in itself and therefore we can only guess at it through its implications and manifestations. Those manifestations have gone down in history as being of remarkable greatness.

The foundation of his strength lay in his unfaltering conviction that his cause was that of his country and one of which God had charged him with the defense.<sup>2</sup> By that God-fearing devotion he made Lutheranism a power much more mighty than a mere state-acknowledged political institution could ever possibly become.<sup>3</sup>

- - - - -

-----  
<sup>1</sup> Heydenrich; page 21

<sup>2</sup> Cambridge Modern History: page 222

<sup>3</sup> Leak: page 207





BIBLIOGRAPHY

ADAMS, William Henry Davenport, Great Names in European History, Edinburgh, Edinburgh Publishing Company, 1879

BJORLIN, Gustaf, Gustaf II Adolf: Läsning för Ung Och Gammal, Laostrom & Komp, Stockholm, 1890

BOURNE, C.E., Life of Gustavus Adolphus - King of Sweden, London, Sonnenschein & Co. 1883

CHAPMAN, Benjamin, History of Gustavus Adolphus and the Thirty Years' War, London, Long, Brown, Green & Longmans, 1856

DODGE, Theodore, Military History - Line up of Battle Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1895

FLEETWOOD, George, Letter to Father Giving Account of Battle of Lutzen and Death of Gustavus - 1632. No. 39 - Council of the Camden Society, London, 1847

FLETCHER, Charles Robert Leslie, Gustavus Adolphus and the Struggles of Protestantism for Existence, New York, 1890





- FORSSELL, Gustaf, Gustaf II Adolf: En Minnesteckning,  
Stockholm, Nordstadt, 1894
- GARDINER, Samuel R., The Thirty Years' War, New York,  
Scribners
- GEIJER, Eric Gustavs, Svenska Folkets Historia,  
Orebro, 1832-36, Translated by Turner,  
J.H., London, Whittaker, 1845
- GRIMBERG, Carl, Sveriges Historia - I Sammanhang Med  
Denmarks Och Norges, Volumes I, II,  
III, Stockholm, Nordstedt, 1914
- HARTE, History of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden Prefixed:  
An Essay on the Military State of Europe  
Volumes I and II, London, Joseph Stock-  
dale, 1807
- HEYDENREICH, The Life of Gustavus Adolphus, Philadelphia,  
Claxton, Remsen and Heffelfinger, 1868
- HEIDENSTAM, Carl Gustav Verner von, The Swedes and their  
Chieftains, translated from the Swedish  
by Charles Wharton Stork, New York,  
American Scandinavian Foundation, 1925
- HJARNE, Harold, Protestantism's Forkampe: Nagra Synpunk-  
ter, Stockholm, Wahlstrom & Widstrand,  
1901
- HOLLINGS, J. F., The Life of Gustavus Adolphus, Surnamed  
the Great, King of Sweden, London, Thomas  
Tegg & Son, 1838



1. The first of these is the fact that the

the first of these is the fact that the

the first of these is the fact that the

the first of these is the fact that the

the first of these is the fact that the

the first of these is the fact that the

the first of these is the fact that the

the first of these is the fact that the

the first of these is the fact that the

the first of these is the fact that the

the first of these is the fact that the

the first of these is the fact that the

the first of these is the fact that the

the first of these is the fact that the

the first of these is the fact that the

the first of these is the fact that the

the first of these is the fact that the

the first of these is the fact that the

the first of these is the fact that the

the first of these is the fact that the

the first of these is the fact that the

the first of these is the fact that the

the first of these is the fact that the

the first of these is the fact that the

the first of these is the fact that the

the first of these is the fact that the

- LEAK, J. Johnson, King and Hero - Gustavus Adolphus  
London, Sunday School Union, 1893
- PARDE, Roger de, History of Gustavus Adolphus - Sur-  
named the Great, King of Sweden,  
Translated from the French by Ferrand  
Spence, London, 1689
- SEEBOHM, Frederick, The Era of the Protestant Revolution,  
New York, Chas. Scribners & Sons, 1924
- STEVENS, John L., History of Gustavus Adolphus,  
G.P. Putnam & Sons, New York, 1884
- STARBACK, Carl George, Gustavus II of Sweden:  
Lifkneckten's berättelser om Handelser  
ur Gustaf II Adolf's Historia, Stock-  
holm, Beijer, 1909
- STAVENOW, Ludvig, Gustaf II Adolf; Hans Personlighet  
Och Hans Betydelse, Stockholm, Geijer,  
1894
- YONGE, Charles Duke, Parallel Lives of Ancient and  
Modern Heroes, Epanimondas and Gustavus  
Adolphus, London, Chapman and Hall,  
1858





PERIODICALS:

AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY	20:510
CALIFORNIAN	2:73
CHAUTAUQUAN	20:658
CORNHILL	74:193
DUBLIN REVIEW	30:69
DUBLIN UNIVERSITY	40:48
ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW	68:444
HARPERS	42:577
HOURS AT HOME	2:110,221
LIPPINCOTT	66:299
LIVING AGE	77:342; 194:638
NATION	62:672
NEW ENGLAND	33:421
SATURDAY REVIEW	101:305

MISCELLANEOUS

AMERICANA, THE Volume 13  
ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITANNICA, volume 12 (11th edition)  
CATHOLIC ENCYCLOPEDIA  
CAMBRIDGE MODERN HISTORY, Volume IV, Thirty Years'  
War. Edited by: A.W.Wood, A.W.Prother,  
Stanley Leathes





APPENDIX





Article No. 1

Karl den IX's egenhändig "minnessedel" för sonen:

" En minnessedel för min son Gustaf Adolf, den han i gudsfruktan eftertänka vill och bedja Gud om sin nåd darefter att leva, så förhoppas jag, Gud skall välsigna honom i detta livet och sedan forläna ett evigt liv med Kristus och alla utvalda:

Först och främst frukte Gud, hedre fader och moder och bevise sina syskon broderlig benägenhet (tillgivenhet), älske sin faders trogne tjänare, lön dem efter tillbörlighet, vare mis-kundsam emot sine undersåtar, straffe det onda och älske det goda och spakfärdiga (de lydiga), tro alla väl, dock först läre känna personen, (låte lagen gälla lika för all utan anseende till personen), forkränke ingen mans välfångna privilegier, så vitt de med lagen överens komma, förminske icke sitt fursteliga uppehälle utan med villkor, att de, some det (nämligen gods) komma, måge komma ihåg, vadan de dett gått hava."<sup>1</sup>

1. Grimberg: page 198





Article No. 2

"Vad kunde vara härligare än att vi hava tillbakadrivit denne vår mäktige granne, med vilken vi hava vistats av ålder uti ett ovisst tillstånd och farlig belägenhet, och honom därhan bragt, det han haver måst till evig tid släppa de rovnus, därutur had oss tillföre beskadat haver, och nu bliva i denna Guds nåde fröm oss skild med sjöar, moras och strömmar, varutöver han icke så lätt kan komma och oss skada tillfoga.

"Nu are Finland skilt vid Ryssland genom den stora Ladogasjön, och är väl så brett över honom, som havet vara kan emellan Sverige och Åland eller emellan Estland and Nyland, där än här till dags ingen polack haver tort överkömma. Så förhoppas jag till Gud, att det och skall ryssen härefter bliva svart over denna bäcken att hoppa." <sup>1</sup>

1. Grimberg, Vol III: page 201





Article No. 3

Hur Gustav Adolf uppfattade faran från Polen, visar hans tal till ständerna 1617. Sigismund hade icke velat ingå förlikning med honom utan, som han säger, "visat mig av med brev och smådeord. Och," fortsatte Gustav Adolf, "kan var och en, som saken förr kunnat, väl besinna, att konungen uti Polen med mig och Sveriges krona icke så lätteligen kan vara förlikt, all den stund han därifrån varder avhållen genom sin påviska religion. Denna religionen haver dessa enkännerlige (särskilt) fördärveliga huvudstycken med sig: "kättarom" -- som de oss kalla -- "skall med ingen lovan hålla." Och haver konung Sigismund noggsamt bevist uti mest all sina gärningar, att han detta papistiska (påviska) stycke väl haver lärt mot oss såväl som andra att praktisera (tillämpa). Till ett exempel vill jag hava fram av hans försäkringsbrev (i Uppsala 1594) de ord, det han lovade sig ingen vilja hata eller älska för religionens skull. Detta tydda han så, att han ingen, som papistisk vore, ville hata och ingen älska, som av vår religion att vara sig bekände. Var det icke, rätt som han hade velat göra lek av sin loven?

"Vad skola vi hava till att vänta av konung Sigismund, som låter regera sig av det djävulspartiet de jesuiter, vilka hava varit upphov till det





gruveliga tyrranni, som skett i Spanien, Frankrike och annorstädes! Desse med sin inkquisition hava icke skonat varken hög eller låg, kvinna eller man. Deras brännande i Spanien haver varit gräseligt. "Det heliga mord" -- som det av de påviske kallas -- det parisiska blodsbröllopet, lärer oss, vad dessa jesuiter och de konungar, som deras råd följa, för tyrranni mot vår religion bruka. Ja, konungen i Poland själv giver nogsamiligen till känna sin goda vilja emot dem, som av vår tro äro. Ty uti Poland gör han våra religionsförvater ont nog; där brännes den ena evangeliska kyrkan efter den andra, deras sammankomster till att höra predikan ske med största fara -- så att hans hat emot oss och vår religion karligen synes, och knappast är till at hoppas, det vi för honom någon säkerhet bekomma kunna. Ty vad för säkerhet skola vi mera förmoda av konungen i Poland, än som andra reformerade konungariken och land hava för sina påviska nabor (grannar)? Deras generalförbund, som de den heliga liga kalla, ar ju därhän riktat, det de genom allehanda båda väldiga och listiga medel skola belita sig därom, att de kunna åter till hörsamhet under påvens ok och trældom tvinga alla, som från hans mörker upplyste äro."<sup>1</sup>

1. Grimberg, Vol. III: pages 203, 204/





Article No. 4

Däri heter det bland annat:

Allt Guds namns missbruk med svärjande och banande skall vara förbjudet. (Be)finnes någon och övertygas sådant att göra i hastighet eller av någon iver uti sitt kall, da give därför, efter som han är till, uti fattigbössan eller pundes (må agas) i regementets åsyn, då korum är hållet. Gör det någon av en lattfärdig sedvana eller i dryckesmal (drycket tillstånd), då bote en halv månads sold till hospitalet (sjukhuset) och uti nästa korum mitt i ringen göra Gudi avbön på knä.

På det en sann gudsfruktan uti krigsfolkets hjärta inrotas måtte, därför villja vi, att var morgon och afton skall korum hallas i lägret av allt krigsfolket och först tecken givas av faltherrens trumpetare och knektarnes trumslagare til lika både uti begynnandet och ändandet, och så hålla alla prästerna korum och vön tillika.

Alla vanliga högtidsdagar och åtminstone varje söndag skall predikning hållas och därtill, om lägenheten så tillåter, en gång i veckan.

Vilken soldat korum eller predikningen försummar skall första och andra gången av sin rotmästare pundas, tredje gången stånde i halsjärn dag och natt, där han laga förfall haft haver.





Inga dåliga kvinnor skoka lidas ia lägret;  
men vill någon hava sin hustru med sig, det stände  
honom fritt.

Ingen soldat fordriste sig att sätta eld på  
någon stad eller by i vänneland med vilja. Gör  
det någon, sträffes som annan mordbrännare. Ingen  
soldat satte eld på någon stad eller by i fiende-  
land, med mindre det bliver honom befälldt av hans  
befäl. Icke heller skall någon av befalet sådant  
kommendera, utan (att) de hava befallning för sig  
av Oss eller fältherren.

Ingen soldat rove eller med våld tage något  
av Våre undersätare, antingen de marschera genom  
landet eller ock ligga i besättningen eller lägret,  
vid livsstraff till görandes. Ho sin värd eller  
hans hjon slår, där han bliver förlagd, straffes  
första och andra gången till järn, vatten och bröd,  
och vare ogillt vad han far för skada. Haver han  
gjort någon särdeles skada, då så svare eftersom  
boskap eller annat slikt i vänneland eller av dem, som  
tillförning göra till lägret, eller ock tager i  
fiendeland utan förlov, straffes som för annat ran  
och tjuveri. Ingen soldat berove eller plundre  
någon kyrka, hospital, skola, kvarn, eller göra dem  
onyttiga, utan det särdeles bliver befallt. Ej  
skall heller någon öva våld mot präster, utgammalt





folk, kvinnor eller barn, med mindre någon av dem sätter sig till varns, after krigsrättens dom.

Dricker sig någon drycken av öl eller vin, (som) han finner för sig i fiendens läger eller i någon stad, förr an fienden är alldeles förjagad, den må saklöst ihjälslås av vem honom överkommer."<sup>1</sup>

1. Grimberg, Vol III: pages 216, 217.





Article No. 5

Vid riksdagen 1627 - 1628, utvalde ständerna ett hemligt utskott, at vilket konungen meddelade sin avsikt att rädda den protestantiska tron. Detta gav honom följande försäkran.

"Hans Maj:t haver oss veta låtit, uti vad farligt tillstånd all våra religionsförvanter i Tyskland råkade äro, och huruledes kejsaren och den påviske ligan den ena fursten och staden efter den andra intagit och betungat hava, huruledes de inkräktat all furstendomen, som gränsa till Östersjön, och äntligen konungen i Denmark, vår närmaste nabo (granne); varfore enekligt är att ju goda råd behovas till denna så högviktiga sak, på det icke ossmå gå i hand, som flera skett är, att de inbillat sig hava, det farligheten dem inten anginge, och därigenom låtit saken så vitt komma, att de utan motstånd och svärdsslag äro religionsfriheten kvitt (förlustiga) blivne och mestadels utplundrade. Fordenskull styra vi Hans Maj:t därtill, att han forsorg draga ville, huruledes kejsarens och de påviskes välde har vid Östersjön icke må rotfästas, utan att Hans Maj:t ville gå dessa farligheter under ögonen och krigets säte och last (börd) flytta till någon





den ort, som fienden möjligt är from krigets besvär  
förskonas. Och lova vi på våra och våra medbroders  
gagnar, som oss fullmäktige gjort hava, att vi mot  
Hans Maj:t och vårt fädernesland vilja göra och handla,  
som redlige man anstår och icke därvid trottas, om  
tunga och besvar, som kriget följer, oss påkomma kunde,  
utan hava ospart för denna var rättvisa sak liv,  
leverne, och all förmåga."<sup>1</sup>

1. Grimberg, Vol;III: page 208





Article No. 6

"Jag tager Gud, den allra högste, till vitne",  
yttrade han, "uti vilkens åsyn jag nu här sittär, att  
jag detta krig uppå tager icke av eget bevåg eller lust  
till krig, utan att jag är därtill retad och utmanad  
uti några åtskilliga år, i det de kejserske have gjort  
vår fiende, de poler, bestånd, sa att, var (därest)  
det icke hade skett, vi ett märkligit (betydligt) emot  
dem skulle have haft framgång. Därtill med äro vi  
och av våre högst veträngde grannar, (an)förvanter och  
svågrar härtill uppmanade, ja och av vitt avlägsne  
konungar kallade att företaga detta kriget och till  
det högsta, att de förtryckte religionsförvanter  
mätter befrias ifrån det påviska oket, vilket vi för-  
hoppas med Guds nåde skall kunna ske.

"Och efter gemenligt (vanligen) ske plägar,  
att krukan bärs så länge till vatten, att hon på sistone  
sönder går, sa varder och mig på sistone gångnandes,  
att efter som jag nu uti så många farligheter för Sver-  
iges rikes välfärd haver måst utgjuta mitt blod --  
dock allt härtill genom Guds nådiga beskydd till livet  
osadd --, jag dock på sistone det låta måste. Ty (där-  
för) vill jag före min avresa och nu denne gången have  
der samtliga när- och frånvarande Sveriges undersåtar  
och ständer Gud, den allrahögste, till själ, liv och





all välfärd anbefalla, önskandes, att vi efter  
detta mödosamma levernet efter Guds behag måtte möta  
varannan i det himmelska och oförgängliga, hos Gud  
oss beredda livet och glädjen."<sup>1</sup>

1. Grimberg, Vol.III: page 213





Article No. 8

Förfäras ej, du lilla hop,  
fast fiendenas larm och rop  
från alla sidor skalla.  
De fröjdas åt din undergång,  
men deras fröjd ej bliver lång.  
Ty låt ej modet falla!<sup>1</sup>

1. Grimberg, Vol.III: page 218



1. The first

2. The second

3. The third

4. The fourth

5. The fifth

6. The sixth

7. The seventh









BOSTON UNIVERSITY



1 1719 02572 6219

NOT TO BE TAKEN  
FROM THE LIBRARY



